1: Graebner Santa Cruz ON13

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[For information on the distribution of similar culture traits in Oceania and Graebner's historical reconstruction in terms of "culture complexes" (Kulturkreise) see category 116, pp. 162-212.]

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Ethnography of the Santa Cruz Islands

[Völkerkunde der Santa-Cruz-Inseln]

F. Graebner

Leipzig: 1909

Ethnologica

Vol. I, pp. 71-184

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files
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[Title page]

[71] Introduction

121 It was not without a special reason that the Santa Cruz Col-
127 lection of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum was chosen for the first
number of Ethnologica. While it is one of the high points of Pro-
fessor Wilhelm Joest's collections, which form the basic stock of
our museum, at the same time it is a legacy from him, since he
built it up shortly before his death and it was on Santa Cruz itself
that the seeds of death were implanted in him. It is therefore a
duty of respect to erect a monument to him by means of a worthy
127 publication of this collection. A small number of objects, with
other parts of the bequest, went to the Berlin Museum für Völker-
kunde, where they were given the same consideration as the col-
lection of Professor G. Thilenius there, which is noteworthy for
its precise designations. I am very much indebted to Professor
von Luschan for permission to use these collections, as well as
for photographs of the most important objects. Joest's valuable
notes from his journal have already been worked up by Baessler
[113] in his Neuen Südsee-Bildern [New Sketches of the South Sea], but
unfortunately not in their entirety and in a free and not always
accurate version, so that the story form in which he gives the ac-
count and which gives the impression that Joest's manuscript was
shortened but otherwise reproduced verbatim is misleading. It
was therefore necessary to use the manuscript of the journal along-
side Baessler's text. The original photographs of natives, huts,
boats, etc. come from the magnificent photographic collection
of Mr. Küppers-Loosen; to him, also, I extend my sincere
thanks for his permission to use the collection and to reproduce it.
127 In this way, Joest's collections and notes form the nucleus,
121 around which are grouped the few other Santa Cruz objects in
our museum and the literature available to me, for a probably
quite complete picture of the particular culture in the present
121 state of our knowledge. It was self-evident, however, that merely
a description of the culture was not enough, that the material
presented would have to demonstrate justification for its existence;
hence the descriptive part is followed by a culture-historical part,

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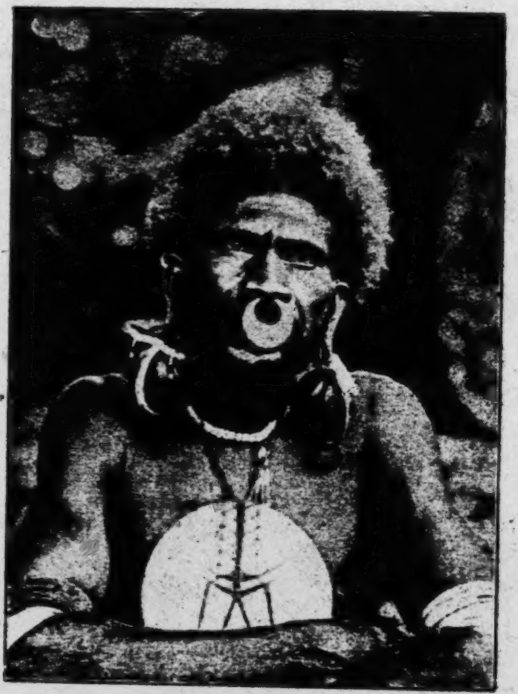

Fig. 1. Man in full regalia, with bleached or powdered hair. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

12/ which is certainly not exhaustive, but probably delineates the
most essential cultural connections of the group.
10/ With regard to the nomenclature, for practical reasons
[Fig. 1 appears here] the three partial groups closely connected
[13] by cultural uniformity, Ndeni (Nitendi), called Santa Cruz in the
narrower sense and located at 165° 55' east, 10° 45' south (1),
with its neighboring small islands, Vanikoro lying southeast of it

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1. Joest in Baessler, Neue Südsee-Bilder, p. 370.

[72 cont.]

101 and the Reef Islands (2) lying to the northeast, are included under the name Santa Cruz Islands. Utupua, lying between
Vanikoro and Ndeni, which belongs to the group geographically,
is little known (3). Tikopia, which is not far to the east, is
197 completely Polynesian (4). By contrast the very fragmented languages of Vanikoro and Ndeni prove to be non-Polynesian, more
144 accurately belonging to the Melanesian group (5), just as physically

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2. Here, too, it seemed advantageous to group them together under this name and to drop the designations "Swallow Islands" and "Duff Islands."

[113] 3. Cf. Dillon, Voyage aux iles de la Mer du Sud [Voyage to the South Sea Islands], II, p. 286. Markham, The Cruise of the Rosario, pp. 167 f. Moresby, Discoveries and Surveys, p. 89.

[113] 4. Above all, Dillon, pp. 133 ff. Dumont D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, V, pp. 109 ff.

5. Codrington, The Melanesian Languages, pp. 486 ff. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 338 ff.; [113] also p. 217. Lesson, "Vanikoro et ses Habitants," Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257 f. (With [114] the exception of the anthropological and linguistic data, he gives, on the whole, little that is not found in D'Urville, and what little there is often is somewhat summarily stated.) Cf. [113] also Dalrymple, An historical collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, I, p. 153, and Dillon, pp. 270, 292.

[72 cont.]
144 the population, with its predominantly dark skin and curly hair,
[73] contrasts with the Polynesians (1). To be sure, on Ndeni
there is also a light-skinned, straight-haired type (2), which
197 seems to predominate on the Reef Islands. On individual islands
of this partial group, as on Nukapu, a Polynesian dialect predominates; others, such as Nufiloli, belong to Melanesia lin-
000 guistically (3). [Fig. 2 appears here.] In any case, culturally

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[148] 1. Sainson in D'Urville, p. 355. Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 254 ff., compares the Vanikorese particularly with the New Caledonians. For Utupua, cf. Moresby, p. 89.

[113] 2. Carteret in Hawkesworth, An account on the voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, I, pp. 348, 359. Labillardière, Relation du Voyage à la Recherche de La Pérouse, II, p. 355. Dillon, p. 311. Markham, p. 164. The
[161] population of Ndeni, although essentially limited to the coast, nevertheless seems to be denser than that of Vanikoro, whose total number Dillon, p. 276, and Quoy (in D'Urville), p. 361, estimate at 1,000, whereas D'Urville, p. 213, estimates it at 1,200 to 1,500, while according to Dillon, p. 170, the largest tribe did not have more than 46 warriors. Cf. also the numerous individual data in D'Urville, pp. 150 ff., and Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 254.

3. Burney, A chronological history of the

[73 cont.] 3: Burney, A chronological history of the voyages and discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, II, p. 290. (Burney rarely differs from Dalrymple; I therefore cite him only in such cases). 197 113 114

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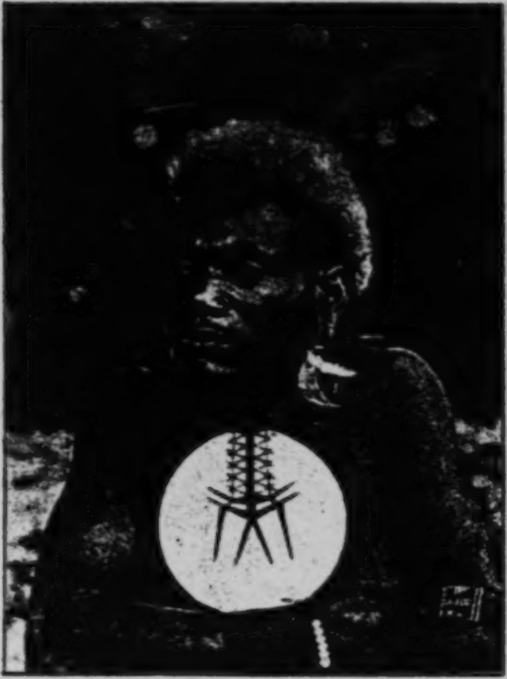

Fig. 2. Man with ear, chest, and arm ornaments, with bleached or powdered hair. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

D'Urville, p. 217. Markham, pp. 66, 140 ff. Joest, Tagebuch [Journal], pp. 54, 81. [113]

In any case, culturally 101
the Reef Islands cannot at present be separated from Ndeni-- 177
later a division of the individual islands may have to be made. Nevertheless, by virtue of their not inconsiderable Polynesian ethnographic elements, they naturally play an important role in the

[73 cont.]

101 Polynesian influence on the main island, a role similar to that 177 played in the south by Tikopia for Vanikoro.

-181 Up to now we know little about the Santa Cruz natives psychologically, and that little shows apparently contradictory features, as is customary among primitive peoples. With [74] all their warlike tendencies, the Spaniards found the Ndeni and Reef Islanders true-hearted, and this trait has not entirely disappeared according to more recent reports (1). To be sure, when Dillon says of the Ndeni people that they always approached the ship singing (2), which he apparently views as a sign of cheerfulness and innocence, [Fig. 3 appears here] a religious, superstitious significance of this behavior is not to be wholly ignored (3). A commercial spirit is very pronounced (4). With regard to thefts, the observation made elsewhere applies here also, that even European property is safe inside the house, whereas thefts occur in the open (5). According to Joest, there is no such thing as gratitude because nothing is ever given away. The absence of a concept of cruelty to animals is documented by Joest, to whom the natives offered a live plucked chicken for sale (6).

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1. Dalrymple, pp. 81 ff. Joest in Baessler, p. 379 and elsewhere. Moresby, p. 87.
2. Dillon, p. 315.
3. Cf. p. 153.
4. Cf. p. 80.
5. Joest in Baessler, p. 372.
6. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 51.

[74 cont.]

609 In general, the inhabitants of Vanikoro made a favorable impression upon Dillon; they even boarded the ship unarmed (7). If

7. Dillon, pp. 166, 173.

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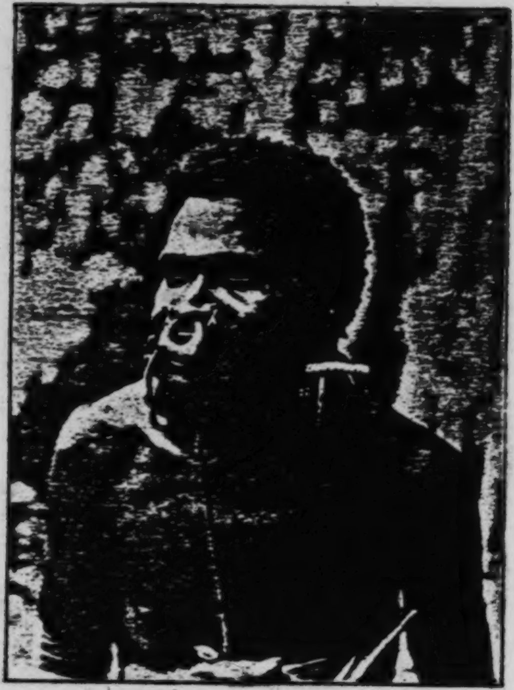

Fig. 3. Man with nose and ear ornaments. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

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[77] shortly thereafter D'Urville found the situation exactly reversed, this is only further proof of how revolutionary an effect an acquaintance with European cultural elements has on the [75] customs and views of the natives. Events such as the murder of Bishop Patterson, on the other hand, can undoubtedly be traced to religious motives, in an effort to ward off unknown and presumably harmful influences.

600 Finally, we should like to mention a few not unimportant details which do not exactly fit into a description of the culture.

[75 cont.]
516 The habit of picking up objects with the great toe is at least
three-quarters anthropological. According to Joest, there is no
particular squatting or sitting position; on the other hand,
standing on one leg with the sole of the other foot supported
821 against the upper part of the thigh is very common. A fear of
rain is also pronounced, although Joest probably exaggerates
somewhat when he asserts that the natives generally do not go out
201 when it is raining. Finally, the peculiar expression of assent by
frowning should be mentioned (1).

1. Joest in Baessler, pp. 392 f., and
Tagebuch, p. 57. Concerning the fear
[113] of rain, cf. also Festetics de Tolna, Chez
les Cannibales, pp. 268 f.

128 I shall now turn to a description of the culture, beginning
with the externals and proceeding gradually to the questions of
the social and religious life.

Ornamentation and Clothing

In his love of adornment, the Santa Cruz Islander is a true
301 Melanesian, and, as everywhere in Melanesia, it is the man who
[171] is most adorned. Ornamentation and clothing are essentially the
same on the various islands of the group; for the sake of greater
clarity, I shall therefore first restrict myself to the main island
Ndeni and then discuss the slight deviations on the other islands.

302 The adult Ndeni man as a rule wears his hair uniformly
[386] short (cf. Figs. 1-3), but often powdered white with lime or
bleached blond, sometimes even dyed yellow or red (2). Fops

2. Dalrymple, p. 78. Burney, p. 150.
Labillardière, p. 256. Dillon, p. 292.
[515] Joest, Tagebuch, p. 49. According to
Joest, lime serves to kill lice. Individual

[75 cont.]

302 [515] lice are crushed between the teeth, but in an emergency all the hair is shaved off with shark teeth (Tagebuch, p. 54). The shark tooth in Edge-Partington, I, 159, No. 9, probably served for this and not for carving.

sometimes dye only half of it (3). Joest saw long hair only once,

3. Dalrymple, p. 78. Joest, ibid.

[765] on a man who was in mourning (4). Coote, however, speaks of

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 377.

long, curly plaits that were colored white and red (5). Boys up

[113 114] 5. Coote, Wanderings South and East, p. 158. (There is scarcely any new material in the later book by the same author, The Western Pacific, which in part corresponds word for word with the first.).

to the age of [76] eight to ten have their hair shaved with shark teeth, except for a comb of longer hair dyed red which is left standing along the center line (cf. the small child in Fig. 22) (1).

[114] 1. Joest in Baessler, p. 377. (Baessler's statements are based on a misunderstanding of passages in the Tagebuch, pp. 49 and 90.)

412 Combs are very rare and are made of small sticks tied together (Fig. 4, No. 1), the plate sometimes smeared with a gluey

[76 cont.]

412 substance and the tip decorated with tufts, now of wool (Fig. 4,
[R24] No. 2). For plucking out hairs, a hair dart made of the leaf rib
302 of the sago palm usually serves (2). Hibiscus blossoms (3) are very

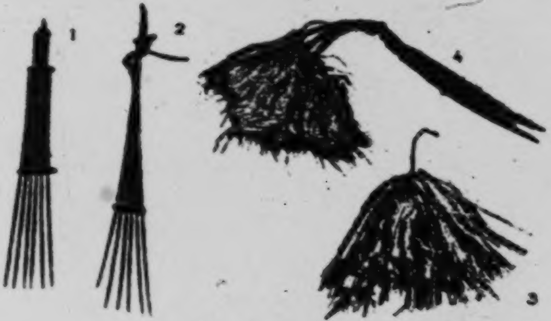

Fig. 4. Head Ornaments.

1. Comb (R.-J.-M. 6680, Danneil Coll., donated by Jul. Rautenstrauch); 16.7 cm. long. 2. Comb (longo; Berlin VI 16185, Thilenius Coll.), Graciosa Bay; 15 1/2 cm. long. 3. Tuft made of strips of leaf cutis on coconut string (R.-J.-M. 17855, Joest Coll.; about 15 cm. in diameter. 4. Feather tuft made of ten small tufts fastened to feather quills with coconut string (R.-J.-M. 4041, Joest Coll.); about 12 cm. in diameter.

2. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 50.

3. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 53. Dillon, p. 315.

Hibiscus blossoms (3) are very
301 popular as hair ornaments, and the Joest Collection contains
[R24] blossom-shaped tufts of plant fibers and feathers which serve
the same purpose (Fig. 4, Nos. 3 and 4). As a war ornament,
714 [Fig. 4 appears here] Edge-Partington illustrates a cylindrical
000 headdress, probably made of palm leaf (4). Beards are not

[76 cont.]

714
[113]

4. Edge-Partington and Heape, Ethnographical Album of the Pacific Islands, I, 154.

302 Beards are not generally worn; Joest saw only a few people with goatees. Labillardière expressly mentions the custom of removing the hair and otherwise only Carteret mentions a man with a small beard (cf. also Figs. 1 and 3) (5).

5. Carteret, p. 359. Labillardière, p. 256. Joest in Baessler, p. 377, and Tagebuch, p. 89.

304
301 The first ornament that the citizen of the world wears on Ndeni is the nose ring of tortoise shell (Fig. 5, Nos. 5 and 6).[1] Very soon after birth the septum is pierced with the above-mentioned hair dart, and the "padlock," as Joest not inappropriately calls it, is snapped on (6). Rarely a nose peg of Tridacna replaces it, and only chiefs wear a peculiar openwork plate of mother-of-pearl (7). [77] The nostrils are also pierced, but

[113]

6. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. Mentioned by Labillardière, p. 255. Coote, pp. 158 and 165. Dewar, Voyage of the Nyanza, p. 246. Markham, p. 164. Festetics de Tolna, pp. 278 f. Illustration, ibid., pp. 279, 283, and in Edge-Partington, I, 162, No. 5. I am not quite sure whether Fig. 5, No. 6 comes from Santa Cruz or from one of the northern Melanesian border islands.

7. Edge-Partington, I, 166, Nos. 8 and 9. Coote, p. 159.

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[1] [cf. category 116, p. 13 --Analyst.]

[77 cont.]

later than the septum, and in them are worn dentalium shells and small chains of beads, nowadays also burned matches (1).

Women never wear nose ornaments, except possibly very little girls (2); this latter fact, however, leads to the conclusion that they, too, have the nose pierced, probably the septum.

Almost as important as the [Fig. 5 appears here] nose ornament is the ear ornament. Piercing the ear lobe is associated with festivities. A tortoise-shell ring is first hung on, to which more and more are added, up to 40, like a chain (Figs. 1, 3, and 5, Nos. 1 and 2). Rings of trochus shell are also hung on the ear, either singly or as links of a chain (Figs. 1, 2, and 5, No. 4) (3). Furthermore, a peculiar tortoise-shell ornament is worn, which consists of two rings connected by a tangential strip; the strip is often decorated with shell beads, or today, of course, with glass beads (Figs. 1-3 and 5, No. 3) (4). Individual reports

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1. Joest in Baessler, p. 377. Edge-Partington, I, 162, No. 6. F. de Tolna, p. 281.

2. Joest in Baessler, p. 378.

3. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. Codrington, pp. 231 f. Labillardière, p. 255. Coote, pp. 158, 165, and illustration, p. 166. Dewar, p. 246. Markham, p. 164. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 7; III, 65, No. 5. Festetics de Tolna, pp. 267 ff. (Ill.).

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. Edge-Partington, III, 65, No. 6. In the case of No. 4056, in the R.-J.-Mus., among others, the same articles are hung in the

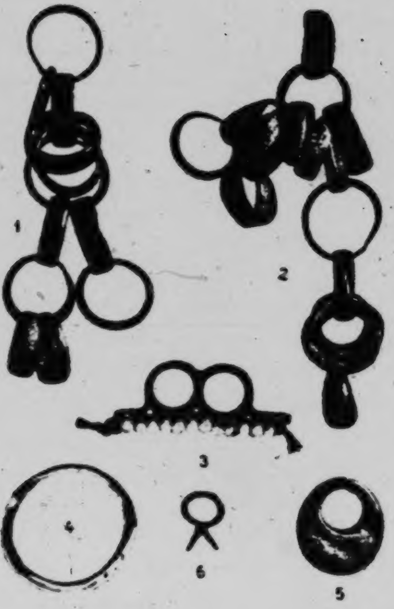

Fig. 5. Ear and Nose Ornaments

1 and 2. Ear ornaments of tortoise shell rings (R. -J. -M. 4055 and 4053, Joest Coll.); 18 and 19 1/2 cm. long. 3. Ear ornament of tortoise shell and glass beads (R. -J. -M. 4055, Joest Coll.); 9 cm. long. 4. Earring of trochus shell (R. -J. -M. 4488, Joest Coll.); 5 1/2 cm. in diameter. 5 and 6. Nose ring of tortoise shell (R. -J. -M. 17857, Joest Coll.); 6682, Danneil Coll., donated by Jul. Rautenstrauch); 4, 3, and 2 cm. in diameter.

[77 cont.]

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[177]
ear chains, and properly so, since the specimens, lacking a slit, are not fastened directly in the ear lobes. In recent times, according to Joest, the natives also wear can-openers in their ears. In F. de Tolna, p. 267, incorrectly "anneaux de perles enfilees" [Chains of beads].

Individual reports
mention that the ears are pierced in several places, in other words, also the rims of the ears (5). Of the illustrations available to me, only Figure 1 shows an ear pierced in several places, as is shown by the rings in the upper part of the rim of the ear. All the others show only the ear lobe, which is sometimes very much distended because of the weight of the ornament (6).

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177]
[78] The neck ornament consists of strings with white shell disks. The free ends are wound with string of the same kind to form thickened string, to which the tie-strings are fastened; sometimes smaller strings of beads are hung in the center of the chain of beads. In recent times large blue glass beads are put on, especially at the ends of the ornament (Fig. 6) (1). Figure

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5. Codrington, p. 232.

6. According to Joest, about one-fourth of all the natives had torn ear lobes.

1. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 1. Labillardière, p. 250. Dalrymple, p. 78, mentions necklaces with beads of bone and ebony; he probably means the kind made out of shell and coconut disks, which are common in Micronesia. Necklaces of fish teeth are mentioned in ibid., and Markham, p. 164, mentions and illustrates one of human teeth.

[78 cont.]

301 7 [Fig. 6 appears here] shows another kind of neck ornament with small white and black disks, the former made of mussel shells, the others probably of coconut shell. Two long thickened strings

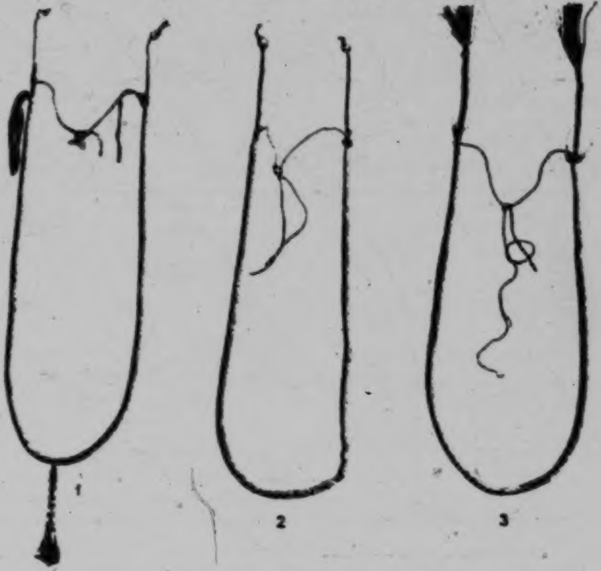

Fig. 6. Necklaces of shell disks (R.-J.-M. 4061, 4068, and 4050, Joest Coll.); length to end of disks 69 1/2, 69 1/2 and 67 cm.

[824] hang in the middle, and at the ends strings of Coix seeds and pieces of nautilus shell (2). Either on the necklaces mentioned

2. Cf. also Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 1.

above or on simple, but often wrapped strings hangs the chest ornament, the most frequent and best known form of which is a large Tridacna disk up to 13 1/2 centimeters in diameter [79] -- according to F. de Tolna, made of fossil shells. [Fig. 7 appears

[79 cont.]

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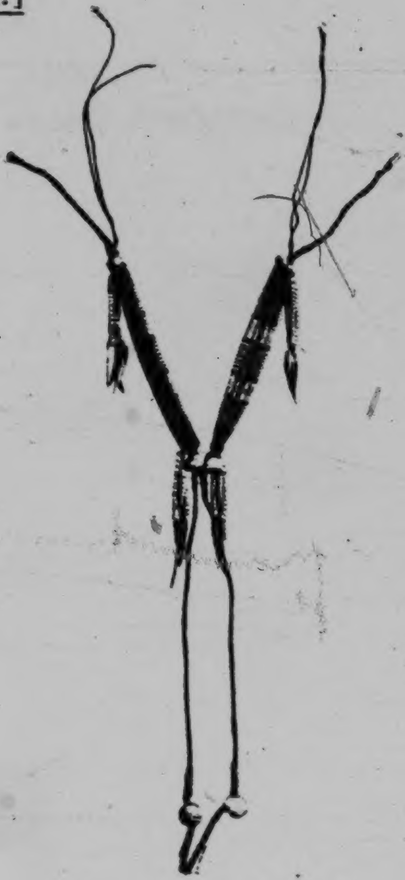

Fig. 7. Neck ornament of shell and coconut disks on coconut string with cowrie-like shells and pendants of Coix and nautilus shell (R.-J.-M. 11670, donated by Traine); length of the wide parts 14 1/2 cm.

here.] Often the disk is not further decorated, but it is frequently covered with an attractive layer of thin tortoise shell, the lower part of which clearly represents a stylized frigate bird (Fig. 1, 2, and 8) (1). In individual, rare cases the string [531]

1. Berlin VI 9932, 16019. Edge-Partington, I, 162, No. 1. Dalrymple,

/ [79 cont.]

301 p. 78, mentions shell disks which were worn on different parts of the body, and on p. 150 (quoting Quiros) "mother-of-pearl disks" worn around the neck, which undoubtedly is a failure to recognize the Tridacna disks. These are also mentioned in: Labillardière, p. 260; Coote, p. 158; Dewar, p. 248 (with a layer of tortoise shell); Joest in Baessler, p. 376, ill.; F. de Tolna, pp. 267 ff. According to Markham, p. 164, they are worn only by chiefs.

[531] that fastens the ornament to the necklace, running radially from the upper edge to the center bore, is decorated on the front with small shell disks (2).

2. Berlin Mus. VI 16172.

The arm ornaments are worn on both arms alike and
[287] without distinction, except for the bark cloth or rattan wound
around the left wrist, which, however, does not actually serve as
[411] an ornament, but as protection against the recoil of the bowstring
in shooting (3). At an early age the boys wear whole sets (at first

[177] 3. Joest in Baessler, p. 390. (Instead of tapa, cotton nowadays.) F. de Tolna, p. 281. Dalrymple, p. 78.

seven or eight) of Trochus arm-rings on their upper arms above the elbow (Figs. 1, 3, and 9, No. 1) (4). In addition there is a

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 5. Coote, p. 158. Dewar, p. 246. Markham, p. 164.

[79 cont.] In addition there is a
301 very carefully made [80] arm band, which is plaited of blackish-
531 brown plant fibers and patterned attractively with white shell
824 disks (Figs. 2 and 9, No. 2) (1). The people like to stick flowers,
fragrant leaves, or rustling strips of pandanus leaves, dyed with
[386] Curcuma and decorated in black, into the bands and rings (Fig.
10) (2). A chain of beads is also often worn around the wrist
(Fig. 2) (3), or a string with a triton shell about ten centimeters
long. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

301 There are few leg ornaments. With the exception of a small cowrie-like [Fig. 9 appears here] snail shell, which, according to Joest, is worn almost without exception under the

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1. Berlin VI 11735 and 16204. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 4. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 376. Labillardière, pp. 250, 256 (according to him, worn at various places on the arm, even "au dessus du coude" [on the elbow]). Markham, p. 164 (on the lower arm). F. de Tolna, pp. 267 ff. (ill.). Schmeltz and Krause, Die Ethnogr.-Anthropol. Abt. d. Mus. Godeffroy [The Ethnographical-Anthropological Division of the Godeffroy Museum], p. 118 (erroneously described as an ear ornament).

2. Dillon, p. 315. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. F. de Tolna, p. 281.

3. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. Illustration of the Triton ornament in F. de Tolna, p. 279.

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[80 cont.]

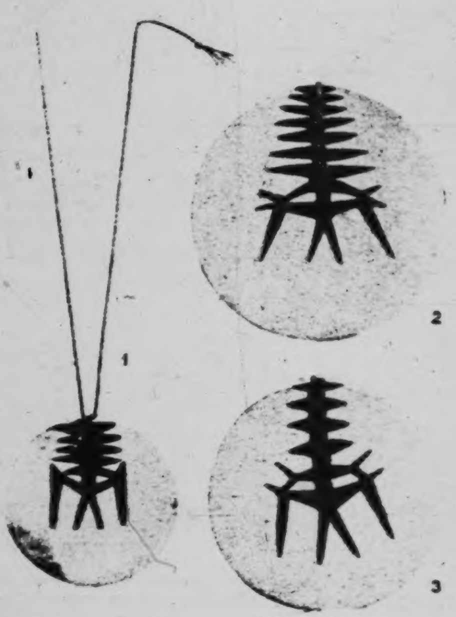

Fig. 8. Chest ornaments of Tridacna with tortoise shell overlay (R.-J.-M. 4375, 4372, and 4373, Joest Coll.); 9 1/2, 13 1/2, and 12 1/2 cm. in diameter. On Nos. 2 and 3 the suspension cords are missing.

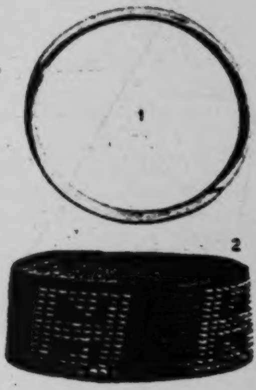

Fig. 9. Arm Ornaments. 1. Arm ring of trochus shell (R.-J.-M. 4465, Joest Coll.); 9 1/2 cm. in diameter. 2. Arm band of plant fiber with shell disks woven in (R.-J.-M. 4438, Joest Coll.); 8.8 cm. in diameter.

[80 cont.]

301 knee (4) (Figs. 11 and 22), only a chain of beads or a rattan spiral
is sometimes worn around the ankle (5). Probably [81] [Fig. 10
291 appears here] the thick sandals (Fig. 12)[1] carefully plaited out of
[294] plant fibers are worn on the feet only for protection when walk-
[285] ing on the sharp coral of the reef and therefore of all the parts of
the costume of our islander can be most readily counted as articles of clothing and least of all as ornaments.

What we are inclined to regard primarily as clothing
[301] among the children of the tropics, namely, the hip ornament, the
Santa Cruz Islander puts on last of all his ornaments. As a boy,
291 he goes completely naked or at most wears a very narrow belt,
294 either the plaited one (Fig. 13, Nos. 1 and 2) or the bark belt
(Fig. 13, No. 3) (1). The latter consists of a wide spiral, resembling a clock spring, made of tree bark, but is sometimes
spirally wound on the outside with strips of black rattan so that its
291 actual structure is not visible. A unique specimen is the belt
shown in Figure 13, No. 4, from the Berlin collection, made of
a fiber string resembling cotton, with a piece of bird skin stuck
coo on it (2). Only when the father or some other relative of the boy

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4. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. F. de Tolna, p. 283 (according to this, also worn on the ankle).

5. Fig. 20. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 51.

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 376.

2. Cf. Labillardière, p. 256. According to this, the "string fastened tightly round the waist" [cited in English] in Markham, p. 164, could

[1] [cf. category 11b, p. 23 -- Analyst.]

[81 cont.]

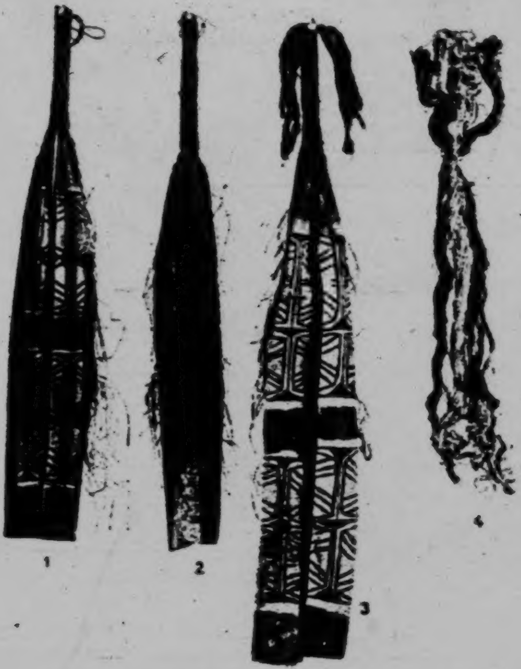

Fig. 10. Ornamental tufts of plant fibers stuck into arm rings. 1-3. With painted strips of pandanus leaves, colored with Curcuma. 1-2. A pair, 2 in rear view (R.-J.-M. 4037, Joest Coll.); 35 cm. long. 3. Decorated with pieces of wool and a glass bead (R.-J.-M. 4038, Joest Coll.); 42 cm. long. 4. (R.-J.-M. 4042, Joest Coll.); 30 cm. long. 1

291 [81 cont.]

mean the rattan spiral. Berlin VI 16182 is merely a rattan spiral of a bark belt.

884 Only when the father or some other relative of the boy
291 is able or is inclined to give the village a feast for him may he put on the apron [Schurz, "apron, kilt"], often [82] [Figs. 11, 12, and 13 appear here] [83] not until he has long been an adult (1).

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 376.

291 286 [824] The aprons of the men (Figs. 14 and 54)[1] are woven out of banana fiber (2), are usually made with attractive black patterns,

2. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. Name of the apron, niwega = banana.

particularly on the ends, and are decorated with tufts of finer banana fibers knotted in. They are fringed at the ends. They are drawn between the legs and over the belt, front and back; [Fig. 14 appears here] if they are very long, they are tucked in at one end or the other, as may be necessary (3). In the photo-

3. Cf. pp. f. Dalrymple, p. 78. Coote, p. 158. Dewar, p. 246. Markham, p. 164. Edge-Partington, I, 154. The Berlin VI 8357 and 16402 aprons are certainly not from Santa Cruz, but possibly from the Ellice Islands.

291 301 graphs (Figs. 20 and 22) one sometimes also sees a chain of shell beads worn over the belt and the apron, [84] [Fig. 15 appears here] which apparently is exactly like the necklaces (1).

1. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 6.

[cf. category 116, pp. 24 and 102 --Analyst.]

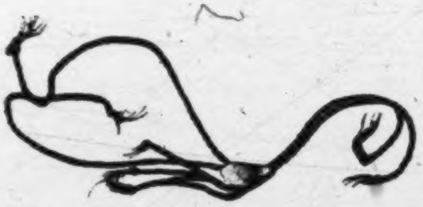

Fig. 11.

Knee band (popo) of coconut strings with cowrie-like shell (Berlin VI, 16190, Thilenius Coll.); North Bay.

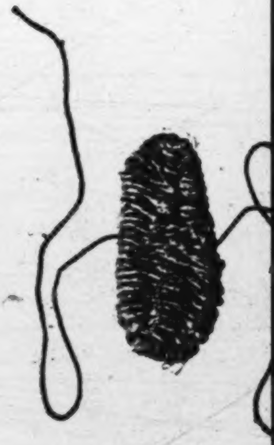

Fig. 12.

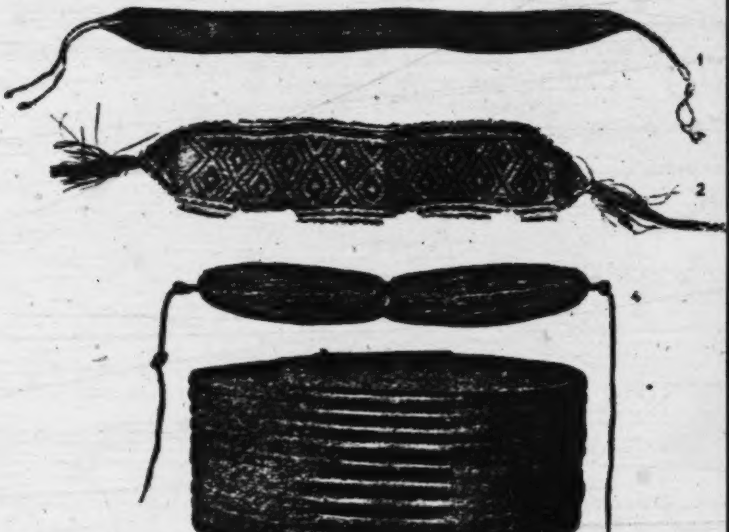

Fig. 13. Belts.

Fig. 12. Sandal of plant fibers (R.-J.-M. 4350, Joest Coll.); 21 1/2 cm. long.

Fig. 13. 1. Plaited of dark brown fiber (rattan?) with a bright tie-string plaited in separately (R.-J.-M. 4436, Joest Coll.); 61 cm. long. 2. Plaited of strips of pandanus leaves, with black pattern (R.-J.-M. 4066, Joest Coll.); 36 cm. long.

(caption continued on following page)

[83]

Fig. 13 cont'd. - 3. Bark belt with black rattan spiral (R.-J.-M. 4427, 291 Joest Coll.); 22 1/2 cm. in diameter. 4. Of cotton-like string with a piece of bird skin stuck on (Berlin unnumbered); 52 1/2 cm. long.

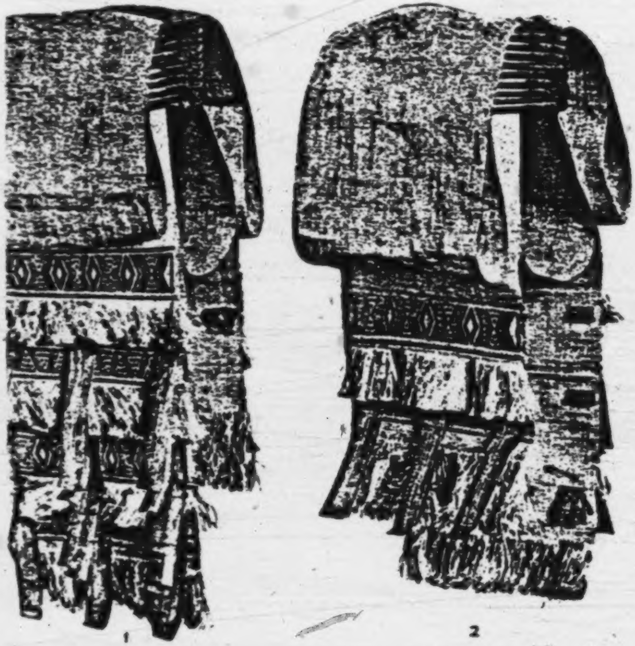

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Fig. 14. Apron for men, woven (R.-J.-M. 3949, Joest Coll.); total length 2.79 meters. 1. Front view, 2. back view; the way it is worn over the bark belt and the like decorations on both ends are shown.

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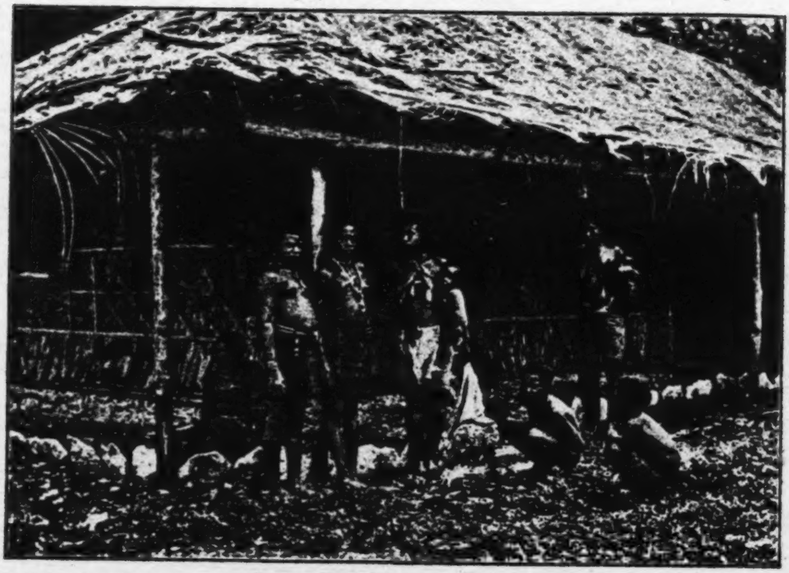

Fig. 15. Women and children in front of a trader's house (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

291 [824] Edge-Partington illustrates wider ornamental belts, which apparently are patterned with shell disks in a fashion similar to the arm bands (2). According to Dillon, bunches of fragrant herbs are worn in the belt, front and back (3).

301 As has been said, the women wear far fewer ornaments than the men (4). Those that they do wear, however, correspond to

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2. Edge-Partington, I, 166, Nos. 2-3.

3. Dillon, p. 315.

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 378.

[84 cont.]

301 what has already been described. The figures (Fig. 15) show necklaces and arm bands; one shows a double-pointed chest ornament that in technique apparently corresponds to the necklace illustrated in Figure 7. Among the women, too, one notes the chains of beads on the wrist. They seem to wear leg ornaments just as little as ear ornaments and as a rule, nose ornaments (5), or as the chest 291 disk and Trochus arm rings. Unlike boys, the girls are usually [85] clothed in earliest childhood (1). They, like all the women, [287] wear an apron of rather coarse bark cloth (Fig. 16), which is wound around the hips several times, like a skirt, and reaches almost to [301] the knees (2). They, too, wear the strings of small shell disks over the apron as decoration; the specimen illustrated (Fig. 15) shows patterning at the ends by means of scattered groups of small black disks. Just as characteristic for the women as the tapa skirt is the [28 p 34] tapa cloth that they [Fig. 16 appears here] wear hanging over the head and shoulders and with which they cover the face in the coo presence of men (3). Unmarried girls apparently wear the hair

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5. Cf. above, p. 12.

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 376.

[113] 2. Joest, p. 378. Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux, envoyé à la Recherche de la Pérouse, I, pp. 378 f. Labillardière, p. 260. Dillon, p. 302. Figueroa, in Dalrymple, I, p. 194, has [114] the women wearing woven material, which is probably erroneous.

3. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 378. Joest in Baessler, pp. 378 (also ill.), 380. Dillon, p. 302. Berlin Museum VI 16179: headcloth, aãmbe, of breadfruit bast; North Bay (Thilenius).

1: Graebner--27 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[85]

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Fig. 16. Woman's apron of bark cloth, dyed yellow with Curcuma (R.-J.-M. 4094, Joest Coll.); total length 1.15 meters, width 54 cm.

[386]

302 [85 cont.] Unmarried girls apparently wear the hair short, whereas the married women let it grow bushy (Fig. 15).

184 291 301 [302] According to our reports, which, however, are not detailed, the clothing and ornaments of the Reef Islanders correspond completely with those of Ndeni. Only beards seem to have been more common in former times (4). In the essential things the same applies for Vanikoro (5). In Dillon's description, although it is based on an error of observation, the bark belt with the black [86] rattan spiral is clearly recognizable (1). His

[114] statement that the three-foot long, one-foot wide apron of the men is also made of tapa, which contradicts D'Urville, is almost certainly likewise based on faulty observation (2);

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4. Burney, p. 290. Coote, pp. 150, 154: nose ring, ear chains, apron of the men, Trochus arm rings (also Fig. 16), chest disk. According to him, however, the women there are also laden with ear chains. Markham, p. 145, also mentions ear rings and nose rings on Lomlom. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 90: hair bleached two different shades, but also Papuan wig; torn ear lobes.

5. Dillon, pp. 292, 153. Beards infrequent according to Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 260 and 263 (a beard is worn, for example, by the priest-sovereign Moëmbe).

[113] 1. Dillon, II, pp. 154, 275. Furthermore, D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 178, 1; 185. Sainson in D'Urville, p. 355. Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 263.

[86 cont.]

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certainly likewise based on faulty observation (2); according to

2. Dillon, ibid. D'Urville, p. 214.

his report, a tail made of the leaf of the fan palm is stuck into the belt in back (3). The women wear the bark belt like the men

3. Dillon, p. 154.

and with it the skirt reaching to the knees; otherwise they wear little ornamentation (4). The necklaces, shell arm-rings and the

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4. Dillon, pp. 177, 229, 275. D'Urville, p. 166; on p. 214 he identifies the women's apron with that of the men, but this probably does not mean that they, too, wear the woven apron. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 264.

patterned arm-bands, and the hip and knee ornaments are also worn on Vanikoro, as are the chest disk and the ear chains, which number up to 30 rings and distend the ear lobe as much as six inches (5). In addition, however, wooden ear plugs up to five [304]

5. Dillon, pp. 154, 276. D'Urville, pp. 135 f., 214, and Atlas, Pl. 167, 178, 185. On pp. 135 f. he mentions arm rings of tortoise shell, as well as leg rings of mussel shells and tortoise shell, which are not mentioned anywhere else. According to p. 166, however, some of these may be chains of shell disks, as is certainly the case for the wrist ornaments. All these references are very summarily stated. According to D'Urville, p. 182, the natives especially prize their arm bands and

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304 [86 cont.]

would not part with them for a long time, even for a high price. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 264 f.

inches in diameter were put into the pierced ear lobe, as well as leaf spirals which gradually enlarge the hole (6). The septum

6. D'Urville, pp. 164, 214, 355 (Sainson); Atlas, Pl. 136; 167; 176; 178; 2-3; 185.

holds a rod, a shell peg, or, according to Dillon, two white chicken feathers (7), whereas D'Urville's illustrations show rings

7. D'Urville, p. 135, and Atlas, Pl. 167, 3; 176, 5; 178, 5. According to Sainson in D'Urville, p. 355, the rod is of bone; according to Lesson, p. 265, sometimes of a cachalot tooth.

in the nostrils (8).

8. D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 178, 4.

184
302 Only the hair style of Vanikoro shows a striking peculiarity. Here, too, boys wear the crest of hair, and older men, as on Ndeni, color the hair, which is cut quite short, white with lime. The young men, however, let the hair grow long; according to Dillon, they even take the hair of the dead or of slain enemies, gather it all together into a conical structure, and cover it with bark cloth, preferably red in color. The entire structure reaches a height of more than 12 inches and, as a result of its weight, often sinks down onto the back. The edge of the tapa covering is decorated with flowers and chains of beads (9). Dillon is the [87] only author who mentions a similar

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[265
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9. Dillon, pp. 154, 275, and

[824] hair style on Ndeni, namely, "caps of bark cloth, coconut leaves, or fan-palm leaves, resembling a sugar loaf" (1).

184 According to Dillon, the young women wear the same
291 hair style, but he may have mistaken the cloth that the women
[302] wear on their heads, like those on Ndeni according to an illustration in D'Urville (2), and that is drawn together cap-shaped on their heads with a string, for the above-described hair style of the young men (3). A peculiarity of female costumes -- not an adornment -- is the band worn across the chest, with which they draw the breasts together above the nipples (4).

[87 cont.]

184 frontispiece. D'Urville, pp. 215, 355
293 Sainson); Atlas, Pl. 136, 167, 176, 185. Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 264. F. de Tolna, p. 268.

1. Dillon, p. 292. However, cf. F. de Tolna, pp. 275 and 281, as well as the figure of the menata (p. 149 below) and in connection with it the probably erroneous statement by Joest in Baessler, p. 377, about the palm leaves, etc. worn as protection against the sun (Tagebuch, p. 77).

2. D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 136. To be sure, D'Urville, too, p. 215, makes no distinction between the hair style of the two sexes.

3. Dillon, p. 177, and D'Urville, p. 164, mention the short hair of the women, Dillon even in the case of a chief's daughter.

4. D'Urville, p. 164; Atlas, Pl. 136.

[87 cont.]

302 Our data about painting and tattooing are very meager. According to the oldest reports, at the time of the Spanish visit, the inhabitants of Ndeni had their bodies mostly colored black (5).

5. Dalrymple, p. 78. With reference to Vanikoro, D'Urville, p. 135, mentions rubbing with coconut oil.

Gaimard observed the same black painting among the women of Vanikoro (6). Markham mentions that they paint themselves

6. D'Urville, p. 338. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 265 (black and brown; cf. previous footnote).

with colors that are rubbed in with coconut oil (7), and Coote

7. Markham, p. 164.

speaks of a black facial painting with red and yellow stripes, Joest only of coloring the body yellow with Curcuma in the case [548] of children and prostitutes (8). Almost as meager are the reports

8. Coote, p. 158. Joest in Baessler, p. 381.

304 about tattooing; Dillon and D'Urville, with reference to Vanikoro, mention a back-tattooing, not very visible on the black skin, in the form of fish, lizards, series of triangles, etc., which clearly [531/177] shows the influence of Tikopia, and indirectly of Rotuma. Labillardière likewise mentions back-tattooing in particular on Ndeni (9). Joest says of the Reef Islanders that the women he saw

9. Dillon, p. 278. D'Urville, p. 215. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 265. Labillardière, p. 256.

[87 cont.]

304 on Ndeni were tattooed blue, and he mentions tattooing on the upper arm of one man (10). On Ndeni itself the Spaniards, according to their own account, found scar-tattooing (11), and the patterns that Joest gives for the chin, forehead, temples, cheeks, and breast tattooing [88] of the women, as well as the forehead and nose tattooing of the men (1), could easily be related to a technique with small incised scars, such as is practiced in the southern part of New Ireland and on the northern Solomons (2). [171]

On the other hand, there is evidence of puncture-tattooing in the tattoo needle pictured by Edge-Partington, which consists of a tortoise-shell [Fig. 17 appears here] punch set in a reed handle; when not in use the needle is kept in the hollow handle as in a case (3). Likewise, the breast tattooing of an old woman mentioned by Joest, in the shape of two crosses of an order, belongs in the sphere of puncture--tatooing (4). Moreover, on the [531]

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10. Joest, Tagebuch, pp. 54, 81.

11. Dalrymple, p. 78.

1. Figure 17, No. 2. Joest in Baessler, p. 377; Tagebuch, pp. 59 and 88.

2. Cf. Meyer-Parkinson, Papua-Album, II, Pl. 45. Stephan-Graebner, Neu-Mecklenburg, pp. 42 f.

3. Edge-Partington, III, 65, No. 4.

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 378; Tagebuch, p. 88.

[88 cont.]
304 upper arm of the same old woman and of a man Joest saw figures
531 resembling three coconut palms (5), probably like the accompanying form (Fig. 17, No. 1), which is common in Santa Cruz
304 ornamentation. According to Joest, the faces of the men are
tattooed blue on the nose and cheeks, as well as on the forehead. For the women, he mentions tattooing on the nose and
in the hollow of the knee. [Fig. 18 appears here.] Thilenius
[531] saw a man with small circles under his eyes, representing
"birds," and two parallel lines extending diagonally outward
from the corners of the mouth, allegedly "fish" (6). All in all,

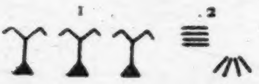

Fig. 17. Tattoo Patterns.
1. Presumably upper-arm tatooing. 2. Temple and cheek tattooing. (From a sketch in Joest's *Tagebuch*.)

[293]

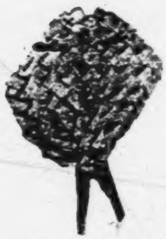

Fig. 18. Fan of coconut leaf (Berlin VI 16178, Thilenius Coll.); 34 1/2 cm. long.

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5. Joest, *ibid*.

6. Joest, *Tagebuch*, pp. 48f. Thilenius in *Globus*, Vol. 81, p. 139.

[88 cont.]

304 it seems possible that two kinds of tattooing exist side by side on Santa Cruz, the actual puncture-tattooing and the fine incised tattooing which may be regarded as an adaptation of scarification to puncture-tattooing (7). Count Tolna illustrates

7. Some religious factor seems to be involved when, according to Joest in Baessler, p. 378, a Reef Islander refused to answer a question about the meaning of the tattoo on his upper arm.

two very markedly raised horizontal chest scars on a chief of Ndeni, but it is doubtful whether the phenomenon, since it is isolated, is to be interpreted as scar tattooing (8).

8. F. de Tolna, pp. 280 f.

293
482 Not actually clothing and ornamentation, properly speaking, but close to them are the inevitable bags slung over the shoulder like a scarf (Figs. 20, 22, 50, 55-57),[1] in which
[276] every Ndeni man carries little necessities, such as betel and betel implements, a spoon for scraping out [89] coconuts,
[437] small articles for barter, etc. (1); furthermore there are the
[412]

1. Dalrymple, p. 79. Dillon, p. 303. Coote, p. 159. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 51. For details, see below, pp. 91 f.

293 fans, of which there is only one in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 18), and Edge-Partington illustrates a miniature specimen decorated with Coix chains, according to him a present for chiefs' children (2). Festetics de Tolna mentions the use of palm leaves

2. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 10.

[1] [cf. category 116, pp. 97, 103-105, 108--Analyst.]

[89 cont.]

293 as umbrellas on Vanikoro (3).

3. F. de Tolna, pp. 268 f.

Houses and House Furnishings; Plan of Village

342 The Spaniards under Mendana found the houses on Ndeni round and built of boards, with a main post in the center. The roofs were covered with mats and palm leaves, the walls open up to half the height of a man, [Fig. 19 appears here] surrounded

[137]

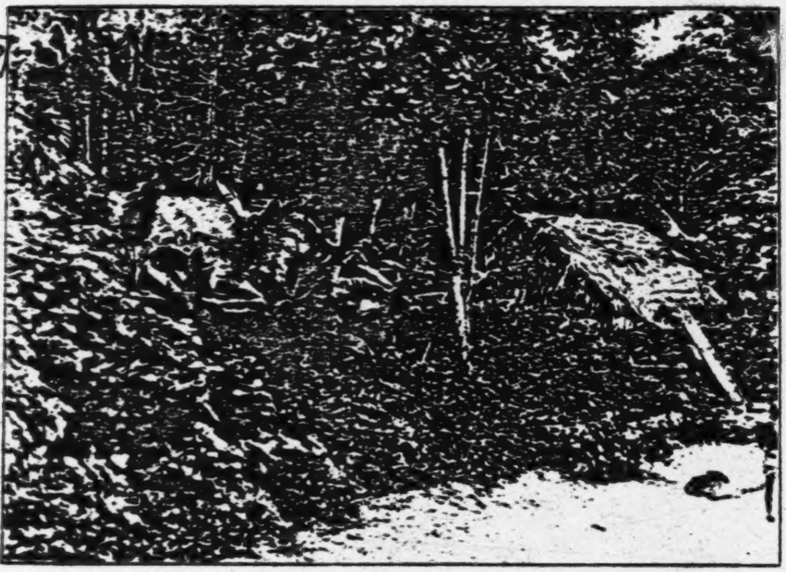

Fig. 19. Houses in the bush, stone rampart visible at right. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

[351] only by a loosely piled-up stone wall, with an entrance at one
side. The houses were supposed to have had two stories, the
upper one reached by means of a small ladder. In each village
346 there were two larger buildings, one of which served religious
[532] purposes and contained human figures that were crude and flat in
execution, while the [90] other, the meeting house or bachelors'
349 [352 house, had the well-known bedframes of bamboo, as well as a
351] kind of courtyard fenced in with rattan, perhaps the dance area.

[90 cont.]

342 [346] The Spanish reports do not say whether these two huts differed in shape from the others (1). In the more recent reports,

[114] 1. Dalrymple, p. 194. Burney, p. 168. The report about the existence of two-story huts must be regarded as trustworthy. It would only have been possible for Figueroa to have confused them with the pile houses of Isabel. Two-story houses occur frequently in New Guinea.

Carteret, Coote, and Joest describe the bachelors' houses as rectangular (2). Dillon says the spirit houses and bachelors'

2. Carteret, p. 358. Coote, ill., p. 162. Joest in Baessler, p. 394. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 379, mentions only rectangular huts.

houses are round, but he seems to be confused about the house
[114] types (3). [Fig. 20 appears here.] The shape of the dwelling

3. Dillon, p. 314. He maintains that the dwellings contain 40 to 50 persons each, which obviously refers to the bachelors' houses.

apparently differs in the various parts of the island; Markham and Joest describe them as round (4), whereas D'Entrecasteaux

4. Markham, p. 165. Joest in Baessler, p. 394.

mentions only rectangular huts, which, [91] according to Codrington's informants, formed the majority by far (1). The houses in the photographs available to me are likewise all rectangular huts with gabled roofs (Figs. 19-23). The number of entrances reported varies from one to four (2). Statements about the size likewise differ; Markham

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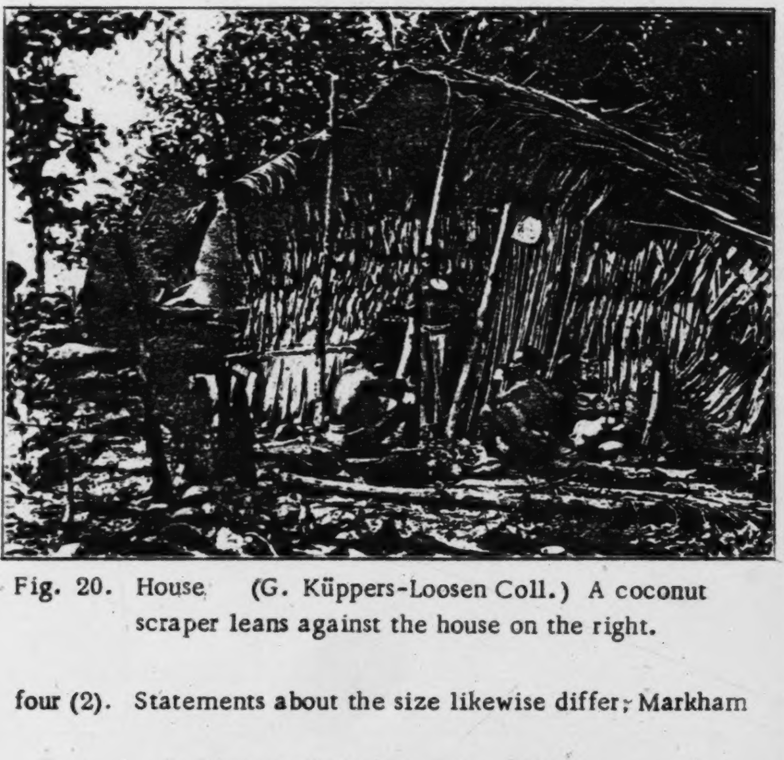

Fig. 20. House (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.) A coconut scraper leans against the house on the right.

[91 cont.]

1. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 379. Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 301.

2. Figueroa (previous page, footnote 1): one entrance. Dillon, p. 290: entrance at the ends and each side. Coote, p. 162: two or three rectangular openings as entrances. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 379, speaks of "portes et fenêtres" [doors and windows], mistakenly no doubt.

1: Graebner--39 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[91 cont.] 342

speaks of small, low huts (3), whereas D'Entrecasteaux, Dillon,

3. Markham, p. 165.

and Dewar specifically stress the size and airy construction (4).

4. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 379. Dillon, p. 290. Dewar, p. 248.

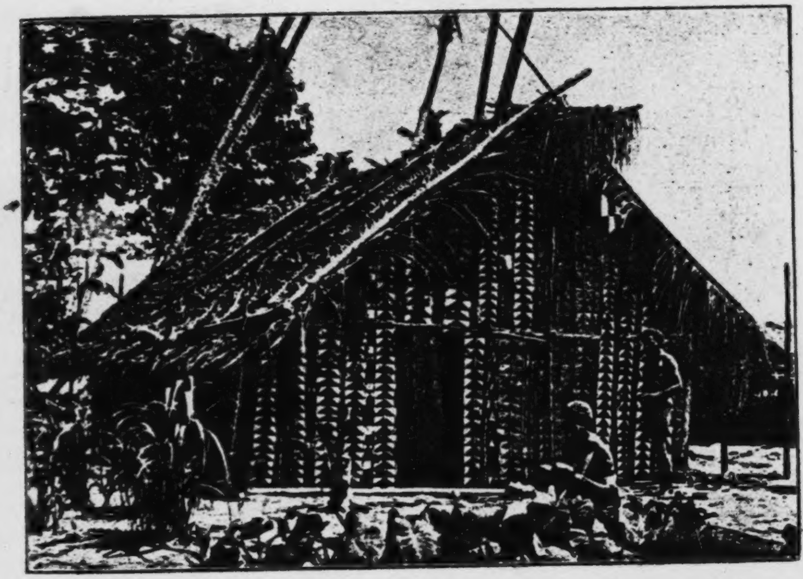

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Fig. 21. Spirit House. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

The stone walls around the houses are often [Fig. 21 appears here] mentioned (Fig. 19), in Dillon some that are five feet high and the same in thickness (5). With regard to the construction 351 000

5. Dalrymple, p. 194. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 372. Dillon, pp. 290, 301. Dewar, p. 248. Joest in Baessler, p. 394. What seems to be a stone terrace in Coote, p. 162, is probably a wall running around the house.

342 [91 cont.] With regard to the construction Markham says that the roof was covered with coconut leaves, Joest that the "grass roofs" extend to the ground. Carteret reports that the walls of the bachelors' [92] houses were hung [353] with plaited mats (1). In the trader's house built by natives, which Joest describes, the three rows of posts and the roof beams were of wood and the rest of the frame of bamboo and rattan; the roof was covered with sago leaves (2). The photographs available to me also clearly show this roof covering of atap, sago-palm leaves worked into shingle-like forms (Figs. 19-20); [285] only here and there are plaited coconut mats to be seen. The walls are made in the same way (3); sometimes layers of leafwork or cane-work, held together on the outside by perpendicular pieces of wood or a network of bamboo (Fig. 22) are seen 346 as reinforcement. The walls of the spirit house in Figure 21 531 are covered on the outside with pieces of bark or leaves and sewed with a network of bamboo strips; the areas between the bamboo strips are painted different colors -- black, white and 342 red -- which produces a very pleasing pattern. Thilenius (4) mentions folding doors plaited out of coconut leaves, whose sections lie against each other to the full extent of the surface.

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1. Markham, p. 195. Carteret, p. 358. Joest in Baessler, p. 394.

2. Joest in Baessler, p. 369.

3. Cf. also F. de Tolna, pp. 273 f. (ill.).

[113] 4. Thilenius, Ethnographische Ergebnisse aus Melanesien [Ethnographic Results from Melanesia], I, p. 62.

[92 cont.]

342 On the Reef Islands Quiros mentions the roof covering
171 of palm leaves and the walls of matting (5). The parallels that Coote draws with the New Hebrides (6), as well as the general silence about the shape of the houses, leads one to conclude that the widespread rectangular gabled house
353 predominates. The interior of houses on Nufiloli is divided by partitions from three to four feet high into as many as six sec-
[513 tions, each of which serves as a sleeping room for a wife of
595] the owner. The chief's house that Coote entered contained four
512 of them (7). When a stranger entered, each woman retired silently to her room.

342 For Vanikoro, as for Ndeni the presence of the two hut forms, the gable-roofed huts and the conical-roofed huts, side by side seems to be typical, except that here they do not seem to be separated by locality as they are there, although according to the illustrations in D'Urville and F. de Tolna, the individual types seem to predominate in certain places (8). Only the gable-roofed huts are described in more detail by D'Urville, as well as by Dillon (9), and perhaps it may be concluded from

5. Dalrymple, p. 127.

6. Coote, p. 154.

7. Coote, *ibid.*

8. D'Urville, pp. 153; 355 (Sainson); 361 (Quoy); *Atlas*, Pl. 182 ff. F. de Tolna pp. 267 ff.

9. Dillon, pp. 273 f. D'Urville, pp. 216, 326.

[92 cont.]
this that here, too, the bachelors' houses, into which the Whites,
342 as guests, were always first ushered, [93] [Figs. 22 and 23 ap-
346 pear here] [94] were, as a rule, the gable-roofed type. Spe-
[574] cial spirit huts seem to be present only here and there on
Vanikoro and of little importance (1); as a rule they coincide
with the bachelors' houses, of which there is one in each vil-
lage and which differ from the dwellings of the same type only by
[352] their greater size and the bedframes or "cots" (2). As its
342 principal supports a typical gable-roofed house has three rows
335 of piles -- the one described for Teve rested on three center
posts; the piles are driven about three feet into the ground,
and their height above ground is 12 to 15 feet in the center
row, four to five feet in the side rows. The center row supports
the ridge piece; the side rows, a side beam each. These three
beams are connected by means of the lighter purlins; all the
[284] parts are tied together with coconut fibers. The roof is covered
342 with coconut mats; the edges project beyond the side walls.
[285] The walls, too, are closed with coconut mats. The doors, of
which each house has one to three -- according to Lesson, usu-
ally only one -- are made by leaving an opening between two
wall piles and are sometimes closed with boards. The total
length of a house comes to about 10 to 20 French feet, the
width, six to ten (3). The round huts, according to Sainson,

1. D'Urville, pp. 151, 178;
327, 329, 334, and 337 (Gaimard).

2. Dillon, pp. 206, 215, 249.
D'Urville, pp. 151, 216; 327
(Gaimard); 355 f. (Sainson). The
nature of the "chiefs' houses" with
a corner that is taboo, mentioned
by F. de Tolna, pp. 273 f., is
uncertain. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 267.

3. Dillon, pp. 274, 242. D'Urville,

[93 cont.]

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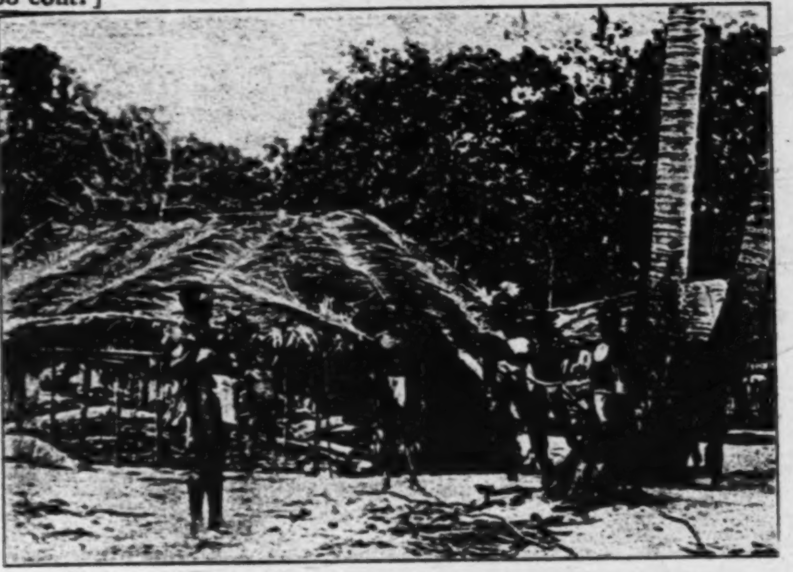

Fig. 22. Village Scene. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

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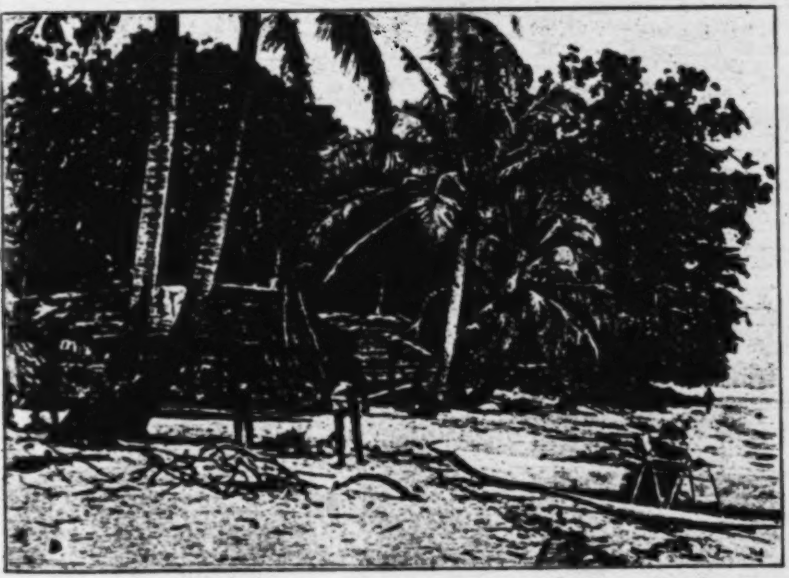

Fig. 23. Beach Scene. In connection with Fig. 22, the arrangement of the houses in a row along the shore can be seen. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

342 [113] [94 cont.]

p. 216; 326 (Gaimard). D'Urville, Voyage au Pole Sud, V, p. 9. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 266. The gabled house pictured in D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, p. 153 (probably the bachelors' house), has two doors on the visible gabled side. The entrances of the round huts are not an inconsiderable distance above the ground.

were faced or covered with cane (4). Quoy and Gaimard men-

4. D'Urville, p. 355.

tion oval huts, which are not identical with the conical-roofed huts, but have two center supporting posts. The hut of a chief in Nama built in this fashion was 15 to 18 feet high in the center and slightly over five feet on the sides (5).

5. D'Urville, pp. 332 and 361.

353 On the islands of the group the interior of the hut, dark because of the low doors, is covered with mats (6). It always

6. Joest in Baessler, p. 369. Carteret, p. 358. Dillon, p. 301. Markham, p. 154.

354 [136] has a burning fire, the smoke of which is at the same time effective protection against mosquitoes and acts to a certain extent as a disinfectant (7). On Vanikoro -- and also on Ndeni,

7. Joest in Baessler, p. 395.

according to Dillon -- the fire area was in the center of the hut. Here it is square, about eight square feet in size and two

354 [94 cont.]
feet deep, and laid out with small black stones. Over it is
353 erected [95] a bamboo frame, sometimes two stories high, on
[415] which the household implements, for example, the wooden bowls,
and also weapons, fishing lines, and the plaited bags are kept
dry. D'Urville reports that these frames were erected in the
354 corners of the huts (1). The bachelors' house that Coote saw on
353

1. Dillon, pp. 240, 274, 301. D'Urville, Voyage au Pole Sud, V, p. 9. D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, pp. 151, 216. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 267. F. de Tolna, p. 273.

[411] Ndeni had the fire area in one corner, but likewise had the bed-like frame in the center of the hut, on which bags with nuts and heaps of arrows were piled up (2).

[251] 2. Coote, p. 162. Carteret, p. 358, also mentions the arrows piled up ready for use, and Joest, Tagebuch, p. 53, mentions a two-story frame for drying Canarium nuts in the bachelors' house of the village Nepia.

285 Besides mats for sleeping and sitting (Figs. 48 and 49)(3),

3. Dewar, p. 248. Joest in Baessler, p. 394. Cf. p. 91.

415 as well as bags of various kinds (4), the household implements

4. Cf. pp. 91 ff.

include above all wooden bowls in two principal shapes [Fig. 24 appears here] shallow and pointed-oval, with carved

[95 cont.]

415 notched handles (Fig. 24), or animal-shaped, for which the
[532] pig is especially popular (Fig. 25) (5). Edge-Partington

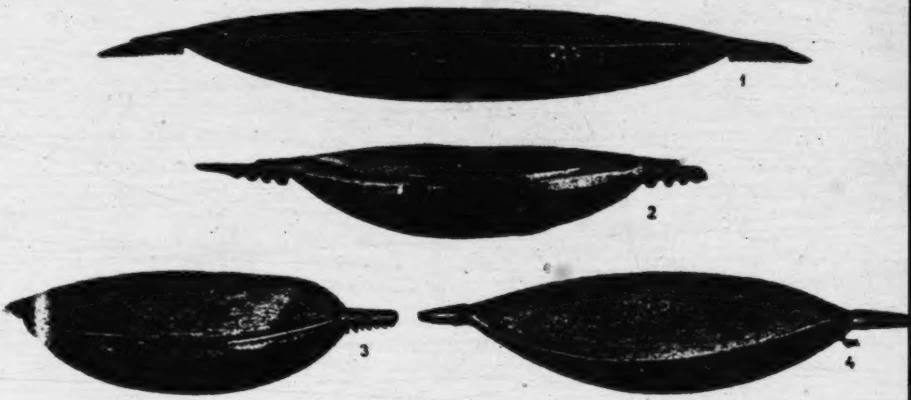

Fig. 24. Wooden Bowls. 1 and 2. (R.-J.-M. 4008 and 4010, Joest Coll.); 51 and 37 cm. long. 3. (Berlin VI 5333, Zembsch Coll.); 54.7 cm. long. 4. (Berlin VI 16175, Thilenius Coll.), North Bay; 59 1/2 cm. long.

[262] 5. Also Berlin IV 16000. Coote, p. 163, mentions a black wooden bowl of yam mush that a woman carried on her head. The black color can only be a patina from use, because all the vessels of the group are made of light wood. Wooden bowls are mentioned in Dillon, II, 274, and in Dewar, p. 246 (ill., p. 247). Also illustrations in Edge-Partington, I, 156, Nos. 2, 3, and 9; 159, Nos. 1-4, the
[532] latter two in the shape of birds. I, 156, Nos. 2 and 3, which come from Coote's

415 [95 cont.]

collection, were, according to Edge-Partington, attributed to the Banks Islands by the collector in his book Western Pacific. I am unable to find anything about this. That the statement "Santa Cruz" is correct is shown by the very similar specimens collected by Thilenius, as well as by the illustration in Dewar, p. 247.

illustrates an oval, trough-like shape with four feet. [96]
412 237 [Figs. 25 and 26 appear here.] The spoons and scrapers used to scrape out coconuts, etc. consist of nautilus shell, more rarely pearl-oyster or bone shells (Fig. 26) (1). D'Urville shows

1. Cf. Edge-Partington, I, 159, Nos. 5-7; 162, No. 2. A spoon of mother-of-pearl, shaped like a bone spoon, with Coix chains, ibid., I, 159, No. 5. An oval, pierced spoon of white mussel-shell, ibid., No. 8. Cf. also Joest in Baessler, p. 379. A scraper of turtle bone, as in Fig. 26, No. 1, from the Reef Islands, in Edge-Partington, III, 65, No. 2.

[252] a bowl-shaped utensil from Vanikoro with a longitudinal notched ridge for grating taro (2). A scraper, probably for coconuts,

2. D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 178, 10-11.

can be seen leaning against the house in Figure 20. Here, too, 415 [312] [286] water is fetched from the often distant watering places and stored in bamboo tubes; on Ndeni we find the well-known water vessels of coconut shells in nets made of coconut string (Fig. 27) (3).

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[96 cont.]

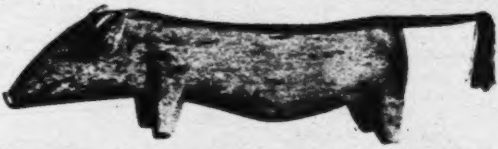

Fig. 25. Wooden Bowl. (R.-J.-M. 4007, Joest Coll.); 57 cm. long.

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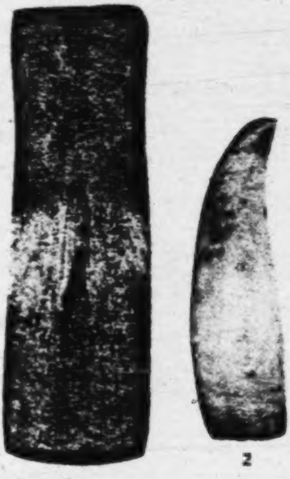

Fig. 26. 1. Grater of turtle bone (R.-J.-M. 4419, Joest Coll.; a slightly different shape R.-J.-M. 4420); 22 cm. long. 2. Spoon of nautilus shell, very markedly curved (R.-J.-M. 4358, Joest Coll.); 13 1/2 cm. long.

415 [96 cont.]
(Fig. 27) (3). On Ndeni fire was formerly made by twirling,
372

3. Gaimard in D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, p. 336.

and for this the underside of the headrests served as a base (4).

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 394.

352 These headrests, along with the mat-covered bedframes that are apparently found only in the bachelors' houses (5), rep-

5. D'Urville, p. 151.

resent the only furniture in the Santa Cruz house. Two types are present (6), the one with only a head plate and several--

6. Coote, p. 165. Joest in Baessler, p. 394. Edge-Partington, I, 158. Nos. 4-5; 164; 165, No. 3.

[532] three or four -- feet, often made in the shape of an animal (Figs. 28, Nos. 1 and 3; 29, No. 1), the other with a head plate and a foot plate, which are connected by a kind of pier-construction (Figs. 28, Nos. 2 and 4; 29, No. 2). Only the [372] first type is suitable for fire-twirling. [97] Figs. 27 and 28 appear here.]

361 [98] The visitors to the Santa Cruz group were struck by the village character of the settlements, the houses of which were always in groups close together and numbered from four to 30 huts (1). The photographs available to me also show

1. Dalrymple, pp. 153, 194. Carteret, p. 359. D'Entrecasteaux, pp. 372, 379. Labillardière, p. 258. Dillon, pp. 178, 314. Wilson, Missionary Voyage, p. 295. Coote, p. 162.

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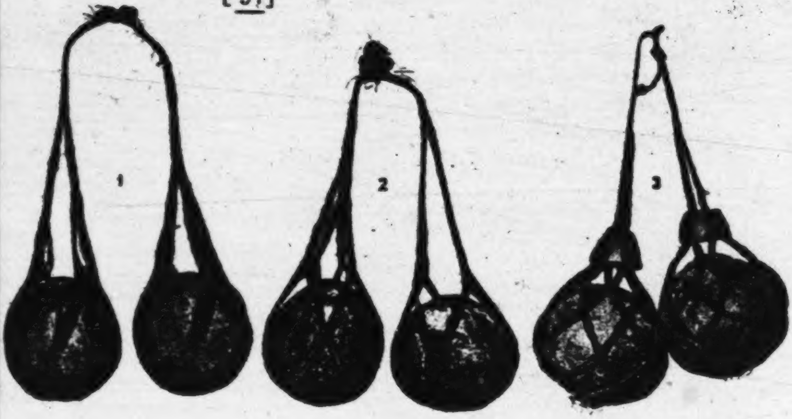

Fig. 27.

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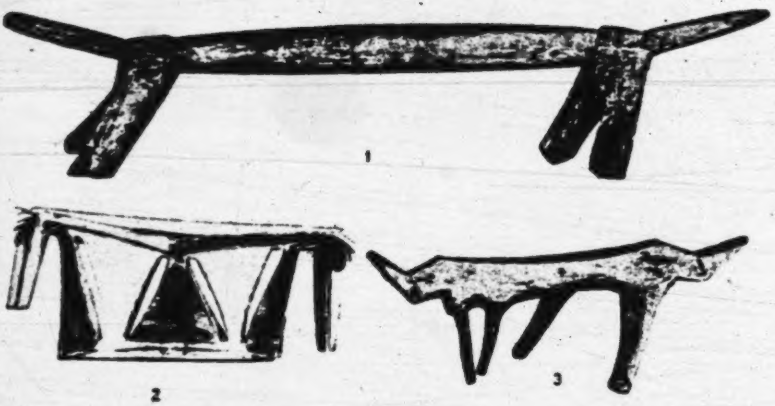

Fig. 28.

(Captions on following page.)

[97 cont.]

415
281 Fig. 27. Water vessels of coconut shells in nets of plaited coconut string (R.-J.-M. 4377 and 4378, Joest Coll.; Berlin VI 16202, Thilenius Coll.; one-seventh natural size. 3. South Bay.

352
532
531 Fig. 28. Headrests (R.-J.-M. 4003, 4005, and 4006, Joest Coll.; Rotterdam 11875); 72, 36, 34, and 30 cm. long. 2. White, red, and black, with tufts of coconut fiber. 4. With black painting on a white background.

[98 cont.]

361 this concentrated type of settlement, whether or not the houses are surrounded by stone walls (Figs. 19, 21-23). Sometimes, at least on Ndeni, the huts seem to be arranged in a row along

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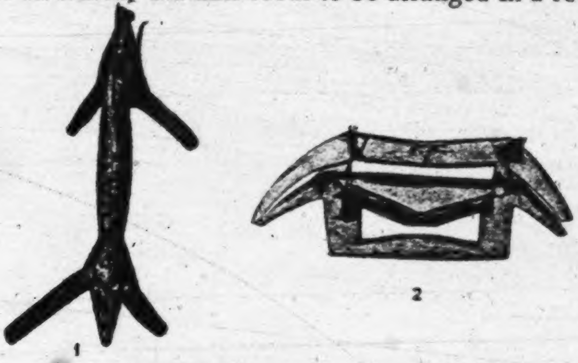

Fig. 29. Headrests.

[824] 1. tagu sewed with palm leaf (Berlin VI 16183, Thilenius Coll.); 47 cm. long; viewed from above. 2. White and red, with tufts of coconut fiber (Berlin VI 15996, Joest Coll.); 40 1/2 cm. long.

361 the shore (Figs. 22 and 23) (2), [Fig. 29 appears here] whereas

2. Carteret, p. 358. Labillardière, *ibid.*

for Vanikoro D'Urville's illustrations seem to indicate an arrangement around a village square (3). In general, it seems

3. D'Urville, *Atlas*, Pl. 182, 184. According to Dillon, p. 286, there are streets that cross at right angles on Utupua and, according to Moresby, p. 83, on one of the Reef Islands. [363]

361/131 [98 cont.] In general, it seems that only the coasts are settled on Ndeni, as well as on Vanikoro, and that the mountainous interior is uninhabited (4). In Medana's 312 time, every village had two wells which were dug shaft-like into the ground, with steps for climbing down, and were covered on top with boards (5). These wells are not mentioned 712 by any of the more recent authors. On Ndeni and the Reef Islands, the villages are often fortified with breastworks of stone -- presumably only those in which the individual houses are not surrounded by a wall. On Ndeni in Carteret's day they were four feet, six inches high and laid out with projecting angles like bastions; on Nukapu, according to Markham, they consisted of semicircular walls, also four and a half feet high, arranged in two rows in such a way that the breastworks of the second row always covered the openings of the first (6). The Spaniards found a particularly interesting arrangement on [361] Taumako: a small artificial island built entirely of coral stones a full fathom above the water. It had more than 70 houses and, according to the natives, served as a refuge during attacks by strange tribes (7).

4. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 378. D'Urville, p. 213. Moresby, p. 88. Joest in Baessler, p. 370.

5. Dalrymple, p. 195.

6. Quiros in Dalrymple, p. 165. Carteret, pp. 358 f. Markham, p. 145.

7. Dalrymple, p. 127. Torres, in Burney, p. 288, is probably referring to this place: "Town surrounded by a

712
361

[98 cont.]

wall, with only one entrance and no gate" [cited in English]. Cf. also Moresby, p. 83.

[99] Economy

262

Like all the South Sea islanders, the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz group live primarily on vegetable food. Here, too, of course, one of the most important foods is coconut; in addition, bananas, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and breadfruit are commonly mentioned for the different islands, the last in two forms on Vanikoro, the wild form with seeds and the [24] cultivated one without seeds. For Ndeni the Spanish reports also mention two species of almonds and pine cones, the latter also for Taumako; Dillon and D'Entrecasteaux also mention yams, cucumbers, and mangosteens on the main island, a fruit called etea on Tahiti, and on the same island a nut called marare, neither of which I was able to identify; Joest mentions a chestnut-like fruit called nde. Yams, Inocarpus, sago, Spondias, pandanus, and arrowroot are listed for Vanikoro. The most important foods, however, besides coconut, are taro and yams, and they seem to a certain extent to be vicarious on the different parts of the group. Taro [184] plays the principal role on Vanikoro where yams occur only in [24] the wild state, not cultivated. On Ndeni, on the other hand, taro is grown and used, but the greatest attention is given to the yam (1).

1. Dalrymple, pp. 88 f, 127. Carteret, pp. 351, 358. D'Entrecasteaux, pp. 369, 378. Labillardière, p. 253. Dillon, pp. 181, 238, 273, 293, 312. D'Urville, pp. 146, 170, 179, 215 f., etc. The same, Voyage au Pole Sud, V, p. 9. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie,

[99 cont.]

262 V, pp. 269 f. Markham, p. 140. Coote, p. 154. Dewar, p. 248. Joest in Baessler, p. 372.

311 The land on Santa Cruz is divided into bush and culti-
vated land; the latter is further divided into communal land,
423 which, besides the village square, includes the land formerly
cultivated, and family land, the families' shares in the land
under cultivation at the moment. Anyone may own trees on
[244] land that does not belong to him (2). The yam fields are

2. Codrington, pp. 59, 63.

[805] exchanged each year; the native reckons the years by the
yam harvests: one year = one yam (3). The men tend to

3. Joest in Baessler, p. 380; Tagebuch, p. 54.

244 clearing the bush; setting out the yam cuttings, tending them,
[462] and harvesting are women's work (4). The entire planting,

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 380. For Vanikoro, cf. D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, pp. 163, 183. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270.

laid out at right angles, is surrounded by a stone wall or a
[231] living hedge, probably for protection against the half-wild
pigs. Within this space the plots of the individual families
[423] are separated from one another by ditches (5). The yams

5. Joest in Baessler, p. 380 (the hedges are called natande, the ditches nilende. Carteret, p. 358. Dillon,

[99 cont.]

244 p. 314. In this connection, see also the statement by Quiros in Dalrymple, p. 165.

ripen in [100] about eight months (1); the tubers attain a

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 380.

252 weight of three to four pounds (2). Like other tubers they are

2. Dillon, p. 312.

prepared either by being roasted in the hot ashes of the hearth or by being steamed between the stones of the well-known Polynesian oven (3). The yam is first washed in sea water.

[262] 3. Carteret, p. 351. Dillon, ibid. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270. Joest in Baessler, p. 391. Salt is otherwise unknown.

The women tend to the cooking, including that in the oven (4).

4. Sainson in D'Urville, p. 356.

262
264 The principal meal, which consists chiefly of yams, is eaten shortly before sunset. In the morning either leftovers from the evening meal, which usually are insignificant, or in place of them a light breakfast of coconuts, nde, crabs, and the like are eaten (5).

5. Joest, loc. cit.

244
221 Perhaps Ndeni does not have enough water for taro cultivation, which is very demanding. Even Vanikoro apparently does not always have enough water to cultivate taro

[100 cont.]
244 near the villages, and a peculiar seminomadism has been pre-
221 served on the island, or rather has probably developed recently;
the inhabitants of certain districts, in addition to their
permanent villages, have set up temporary dwellings for the
[249] season of taro cultivation (6). As is customary, sugar cane is
grown along the edges of the taro plantings, which are always
laid out near water courses on account of the necessity for
[312 artificial irrigation; in addition we also find bananas men-
245] tioned (7) [see footnote above]. On Vanikoro, as on Ndeni,
252 taro is roasted on the hot ashes and then tastes like biscuit (8).
On the main island it is first dried in thin strips at the fire or
in the sun and then can be kept for months as a preserve, which
along with coconuts serves as ship provisions (9). On Vanikoro
252 it is grated and mixed with coconut oil to make a tasty
pudding; the oil is obtained from old, grated coconuts. The
taro is baked in the oven and then grated and mixed with the
coconut oil (10). Another pudding is made out of coconut

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6 and 7. Dillon, pp. 178, 210, 238, 246. F. de Tolna, p. 268.

8. Dillon, pp. 181, 312. Dalrymple, pp. 79, 88f. On
251 Vanikoro Gaimard found a rack for drying taro next to the bachelors' house of Paman (D'Urville, p. 327).

9. Dalrymple, pp. 89, 193. Dillon, p. 312. D'Urville, p. 194. According to Dalrymple, the preserves are stored wrapped in palm leaves.

10. and 11. Dillon, pp. 180 f.

[100 cont.]

252 Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 327 (the expression there, "par la cuisson de cette racine sur un morceau de bois" [by roasting this root on a piece of wood], is not clear).

251 and arrowroot (11) [see footnote above]. A preserve is made out of arrowroot by grating the root, straining it through bark cloth, letting it settle in water, and, after the water is poured off, shaping it into balls; these balls are carried in the [101]
252 shoulder bags (1). Breadfruit is steamed in the oven on Vani-

1 and 2. Dillon, p. 181.

koro (2) [see footnote above].

262 Meat dishes -- with the possible exception of fish (3) --

[252] 3. Carteret, p. 351 ("broiled fish" [cited in English]). Dillon, p. 181 ("fish, etc. baked in the ovens" [cited in English]); 273. D'Urville, p. 215. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270. Joest in Baessler, p. 391.

[574] are only a festive-day treat for the natives. The principal feature of festive meals on Ndeni is shark and the half-wild
[252] pigs, which are prepared in the earth-oven between red-hot stones (4). [Fig. 30 appears here.] Turtles are caught with

231 4. O'Ferrall in J.A.I., XXXIV, pp. 223 ff. Dalrymple, pp. 88, 193. Dillon, pp. 181, 273. That pigs were rare and were not sold is mentioned by D'Entrecasteaux, p. 377, and Labillardière, p. 260, but

[101 cont.]

231 Dillon (p. 393) did not learn of this, and perhaps the former merely happened to come in a period when pigs were taboo (cf. the passage in Lesson at the end of the footnote). But according to Dillon, p. 170, and D'Urville, pp. 188, 216, and 356 (Sainson), the number of tame pigs on Vanikoro was small, and Dillon says wild ones, or most likely pigs that had run wild, were also present. Cf. also Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270.

262 Turtles are caught with
[225 nets; catching and consuming them -- they, too, are steamed
252] in the oven -- is an event for the whole village. The fortu-
574] nate catcher, who strengthens his social position by the feast
554] which he gives the community, hangs the skulls of the animals
in his house as mementos (5). Flying mammals are also

5. Dillon, pp. 239 f., 273. F. de Tolna, pp. 273 f. (also the skulls of pigs). According to Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270, their consumption is a monopoly of the chiefs.

eaten (6). Mussels and crabs are part of the daily sustenance (7).

6. Dewar, p. 248.

7. Joest in Baessler, p. 86. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270.

Poultry is seldom or never eaten, perhaps for totemistic reasons.
[231] Although chickens are kept as domestic animals on Ndeni --
they are tied by one foot to a post or a block of coral -- they
are very rarely eaten, and their eggs never; only their feathers
[237] are used as a head decoration.

[101 cont.]
are used as a head decoration. Bird darts with blunt wooden points
223 411 are used to shoot wild fowl (Fig. 30) (8).

8. Joest, ibid., and pp. 372, 391. Dillon, pp. 170, 273. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270. For Vanikoro, Dillon, p. 181, also 252 lists chickens among the foods that are steamed in the oven.

276 Besides the foods, the luxuries must also be mentioned, the most important of which on the entire [102] group is the areca nut enjoyed with the leaf of the betel pepper and pulverized coral-lime. It was being used even at the time of the Spanish [171] visits (1) [Figs. 31 and 32 appear here] and had

1. Dalrymple, pp. 78, 194. Also mentioned by Labillardière, p. 255. Dillon, pp. 276, 302 (on pp. 303 and 308, he mentions enormous enlargements of the two front teeth of the lower jaw in the [254] case of a sorcerer on Ndeni and declares the substance to be "Cement formed by the lime and betelnut juice" [cited in English]; the owner sold him one of the teeth). D'Urville,

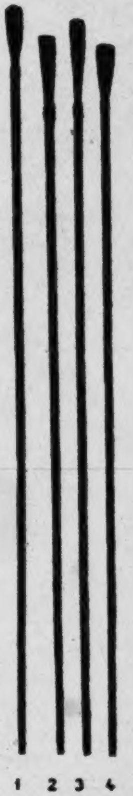

Fig. 30.
Bird Arrows
(R.-J.-M. 3695, 3693, 3696, and 3694, Joest Coll.); 98, 92, 95, and 91 cm. long. 1 and 2. With square points. 3 and 4. With round points.

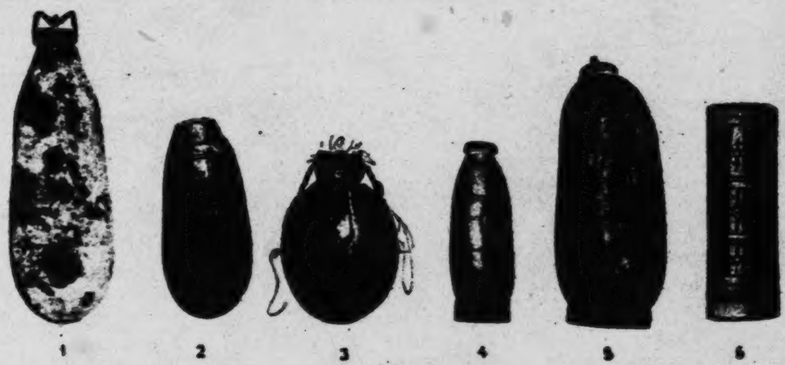

Fig. 31.

415 Fig. 31. Lime Boxes. 1-5. Made of gourds (R.-J.-M. 4034,
531 4030, and 4032, Joest Coll.; Berlin VI 16186 and 16001,
276 Thilenius Coll. and Joest Coll.); 21 1/2, 14, 12, 17, and 23
cm. high. 1 and 3-5. With wooden stoppers; 3 is decorated
with small chains of beads. 2-5. With burned-in designs.
4. na, North Bay. 6. Made of bamboo with burned-in designs
412 (Berlin VI 16900, "Admiralty
276 Islands"); 18.2 cm. high.

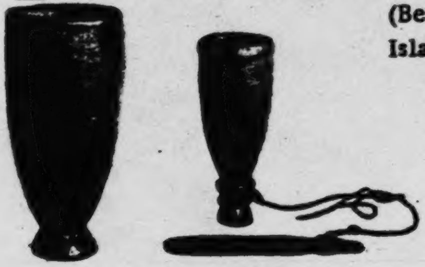

Fig. 32.
Mortars for betel nuts, made of wood, one with flat pestle (R.-J.-M. 4027 and 22193, Joest and Oldman Coll.); 13 and 10 cm. high.

[102 cont.]

276 pp. 215, 336 (Gaimard), 355 (Sainson). Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 265. Coote, p. 158. Dewar, p. 246. Joest in Baessler, pp. 375, 391 (according to him kava is not known). Festetics de Tolna, Chez les Cannibales, pp. 266 f.

[171] spread as far as Tikopia, which is the farthest it extends southeastward (2). The natives carry areca pepper and betel leaf with

2. Dillon, p. 136. D'Urville, p. 112.

[415] them in the bags (3), the lime stored in containers made of

3. Cf. p. 35.

gourds (Fig. 31, Nos. 1-5), sometimes also of bamboo (Fig. 31, No. 6) (4), and moreover they do not [103] take it out with

4. Labillardière, p. 255. Dillon, p. 279. D'Urville, pp. 182, 215; Atlas, Pl. 178, No. 16. Dewar, p. 247. Joest in Baessler, p. 379. Edge-Partington, I, 156, No. 6; 161, No. 4 (156, No. 5, and 161, No. 3, come from Isabel). An unfinished, but decorated gourd: Berlin VI 16187.

wooden or bone spatulas, as is done elsewhere in Melanesia, but with the moistened finger (1). Old people who are no

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 375. F. de Tolna, loc. cit., maintains that on Vanikoro a little stick is used, but he is not always accurate; for example, there are, of course, no lime containers of shell.

276 [103 cont.] old people who are no
longer able to break the nut with their teeth pound it in small
[412] wooden mortars (Fig. 32) (2). According to Figueroa, they spat out only the first mouthful and swallowed the rest (3).

272
273 The Spaniards also observed the manufacture of toddy (4), which is not mentioned by any of the more recent authors. A tree, undoubtedly a palm, was tapped and a sweet sap was obtained from it, which resembled beto oil. It is not said whether this palm-sap is only drunk fresh or whether, through fermentation, an intoxicating drink, the so-called "sour toddy," was obtained from it.

247 Finally, we must also mention the ornamental plants, which even Figueroa speaks of and which, according to him, were grown in special containers ("flower pots") close to the huts (5). The magnificent red flowers that he speaks of probably identifies the plant as hibiscus, which D'Urville lists
301 among the useful plants (6) and whose blossoms are a popular

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2. Dillon, p. 269. Edge-Partington, I, 156, No. 8; II, 87, No. 3.

3. Dalrymple, p. 194. He gives the name brete for areca nut.

4. Dalrymple, ibid.

5. Dalrymple, p. 193. Cf. also Joest in Baessler, p. 371.

[286] 6. D'Urville, p. 146. He suspects that the bast from it furnishes weaving material, but cf. p. 99.

[103 cont.] 301
hair ornament (7).

7. Cf. p. 10.

Fishing, Boats, Trade

Fishing on Santa Cruz is carried on with nets, fishing tackle, kites, nooses, arrows, and weirs (8). Concerning net 226

8. Fishing, more specifically net fishing (presumably with hand nets, as in Fig. 34), is also carried on by the women on Vanikoro. D'Urville, p. 183. Gaimard, ibid., pp. 336, 344. [462]

227
[286]

Fig. 33. Barrier Net (R.-J.-M. 4064, Joest Coll.), 3 meters long.

forms, we are familiar with a larger [Fig. 33 appears here] [104] barrier-net (Fig. 33), a hand net with rattan hoop (Fig. 34), and the net trap like the one used in Samoa (1). [Figs. 34 and 35 appear [171]

1. mpo; Berlin VI 16192, "North Bay" (Thilenius).

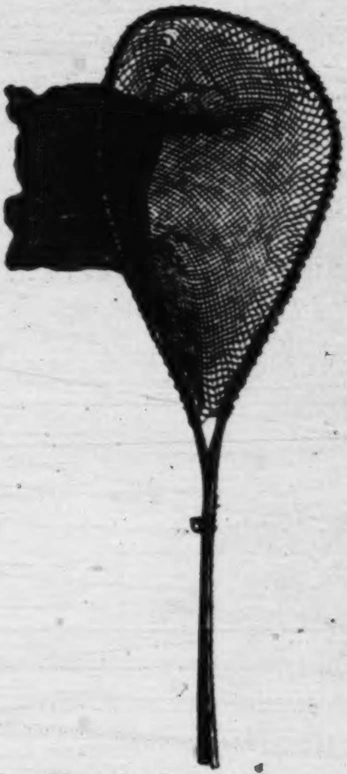

Fig. 34. Hand net with rattan hoop (Berlin VI 16191, Thilenius Coll.), North Bay; 78 cm. long.

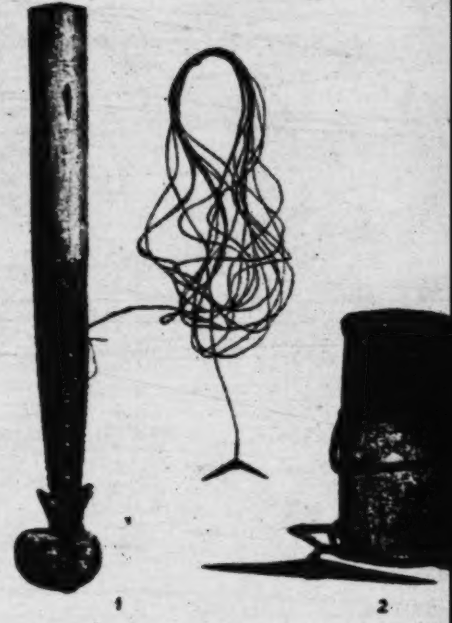

Fig. 35. Fishing Tackle.
1 With tortoise shell hook, wooden float with stone sinker (R.-J.-M. 4024, Joest Coll.); float 31.5 cm., string five meters long. 2. tro with wooden stick and wooden float (Berlin VI 16174b, Thilenius Coll.) North Bay; float 10.5 cm. long.

[104 cont.]

227 here.] As for fishing tackle, strangely enough, not one of the [171] Polynesian forms is known from the group, thus no fishhook in the actual sense of the word. The Santa Cruz hook for catching [226] flying fish consists of a small, straight or obtuse angled, wooden or tortoise-shell bar sharpened to a point on both sides, in the center of which the fishing line is fastened. The other end of the line is fastened to a float, which in rarer cases (Fig. 35, No. 2) consists of a simple short wooden cylinder, usually of the form shown in Figure 35, No. 1, with an upper part of wood, colored red, and a stone tied below. As a result of this construction, the float stands vertically in the water and the upper part remains visible above the surface (2). In kite fishing, as elsewhere in [105] the South Seas, the actual [Fig. 36 appears here] catching device is a cobweb floating in the water and fastened to the kite with a string, in which the fish is caught by 226 [212] the teeth (1). Sharks, which are a popular festive-day treat, [171] are caught with nooses, as in Samoa, and, to be sure, from the platform of the boat. The shark is attracted by a rattle made of coconut shells (Fig. 36), guided into the noose by bait held out to it (Fig. 37), [Fig. 37 appears here] [106] pulled on board by means of the noose which is quickly drawn tight, and killed with the four-edged shark club. Sometimes a second noose is fastened to this club and is drawn over the tail of the captured shark [Fig. 38 appears here] in order to hold it more securely and get it safely on board (1). The fish arrows (Fig. 38)

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2. Edge-Partington, I, 161, No. 1.
Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 317.
Dewar, p. 248.

1. Codrington, p. 318. Joest in Baessler, p. 376.

1. Edge-Partington, I, 167. Joest in Baessler, p. 376.

1: Graebner--66 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[105]

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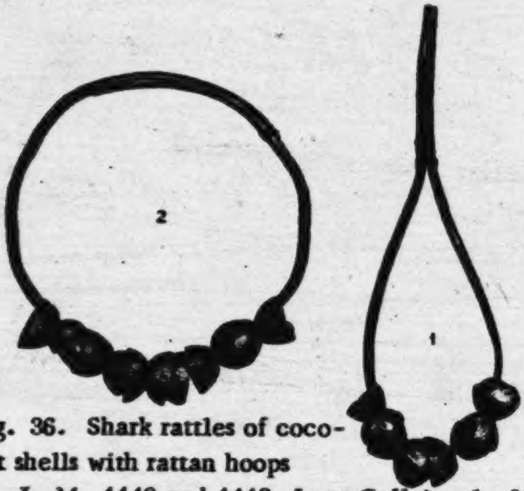


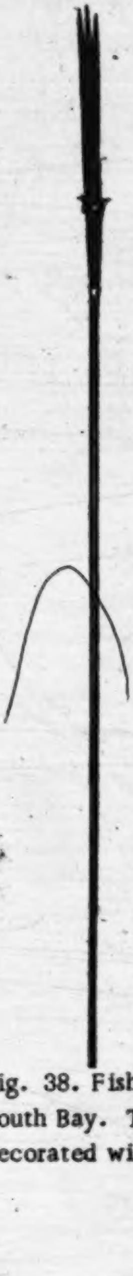
Fig. 36. Shark rattles of coconut shells with rattan hoops (R.-J.-M. 4449 and 4448, Joest Coll.). 1. 98 cm. long. 2. 55 cm. in diameter.

[283]

Fig. 37. Shark noose (R.-J.-M. 4451, Joest Coll.); total length 12 meters. Twisted rope, partly wound with plaited string.

[106 cont.] The fish arrows (Fig. 38)

227 represent the ordinary type with three wooden points (2). Dalrymple is the only author who mentions fish spears, but perhaps he is simply referring to the fish arrows, which he does not mention. According to him, they were used at low tide in order to spear the fish caught in the weirs (3).



501 The boats of Santa Cruz, which apparently are the same throughout the entire group, may be divided into two types, with the exception of the double boats mentioned only in the old Spanish
[484] accounts (4): small rowboats, which as a rule hold only two to three men and are used for trips along the coast and probably mostly for fishing, and large sailboats which provide communication between the islands (5). They are basically alike in

Fig. 38. Fish arrow (tepéla; Berlin VI 16209, Thilenius Coll.), South Bay. Three points with barbed hooks turned inward. Shaft
[531] decorated with longitudinal wavy lines.

2. Dillon, pp. 152, 273. Berlin VI 16167a is absolutely identical with Fig. 38 and therefore is not from the New Hebrides.

3. Dalrymple, pp. 79, 195.

4. Dalrymple, p. 78.

5. Dalrymple, pp. 78, 88. Carteret, p. 359. Dillon, p. 152. Coote, pp. 151 f.

501

construction (6). In both cases the actual body of the boat (Figs.

[396] 23 and 39) is a canoe made from a single trunk of rather soft wood (7), hollowed out by a slit extending the entire length,

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[106 cont.]

Joest in Baessler, p. 395. Boats for two to four persons are most frequently mentioned, most of them for two men; cf. also Labillardière, p. 250. Dillon, pp. 152, 290 (Ndeni: 3-5; Vanikoro: rowboats three persons, sailboats four persons). D'Urville, pp. 135, 322. Wilson, p. 295. Markham, pp. 140, 145, 158. Dewar, p. 246. Dalrymple, p. 195, mentions up to 30, Burney, p. 168, according to the same report, more than 30 men in the crew. As to length, Labillardière, p. 254, gives five meters; Dillon, p. 277, 15 to 20 feet; Wilson, p. 295, 12 to 14 feet; Markham, p. 140 (from Lomlom), 20 to 30 feet; Coote, p. 152, over 40 feet on Nufiloli, and, p. 162, still larger on Ndeni. Quoy in D'Urville, p. 361, describes a Tikopia boat exactly like those of Santa Cruz. [171]

6. Ill. in Labillardière, Atlas, Pl. 44, Fig. 2; Dillon, facing p. 202; D'Urville, p. 135, and Atlas, Pl. 161, 162, and 184; Coote, p. 153, and based on this, Edge-Partington, I, 156, No. 7 ab; F. de Tolna, p. 277. By far the best illustrations are those in D'Urville.

7. Dalrymple, p. 195. Carteret, p. 359. Labillardière, p. 254. Dillon,

[106 cont.]

501 p. 277. D'Urville, p. 135. Wilson, p. 295. Only Coote, p. 151, expressly declares for Nufiloli and Pileni that they are not canoes made from a single trunk, but are built up out of parts, which, however, apparently refers to the large platform-construction.

[396]

which, however, is so narrow that, as far as the rowboats are concerned, the [107] rowers can only put one leg in front of the other and sit on the side edges. Accordingly, the cross-section is oval; the tips taper off keel-shaped below and are flattened on top and therefore have sharply protruding lateral edges. They [502] slant upward slightly and have an ornamental longitudinal strip on the upper surface (1). On large boats the longitudinal slit

1. Labillardière, pp. 254 f. Dillon, p. 277. D'Urville, p. 135. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 266. Wilson, p. 295. The width of the boats is given as 50 cm. by Labillardière, p. 254, and as 15 inches by Wilson, p. 295; the width of the slit is given as ten cm. by Labillardière, and as six inches by Dillon. Moresby, p. 83, mentions the high, ornamented bowsprits of the war boats of the Duff Islands (?).

may be covered with boards during long sea journeys (2). Over

[114] 2. Coote, p. 152. He is mistaken, however, in the assumption that cargo is stowed in the body of the boat. Cf. also Fig. 39 and 40, as well as D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 161.

[107 cont.]

501 the center of the body of the boat there rises [Fig. 39 appears here] a tall narrow box, which is fastened with rattan to two crossbeams inside the body of the boat. At the upper part of the narrow walls of the box there are beamlike projections toward both sides, forming on the one side short appendages tapering to a point, which will be referred to again later, and on the other side long beams, the supports for the outrigger bridge, the principal supports of the whole outrigger frame.

[504]

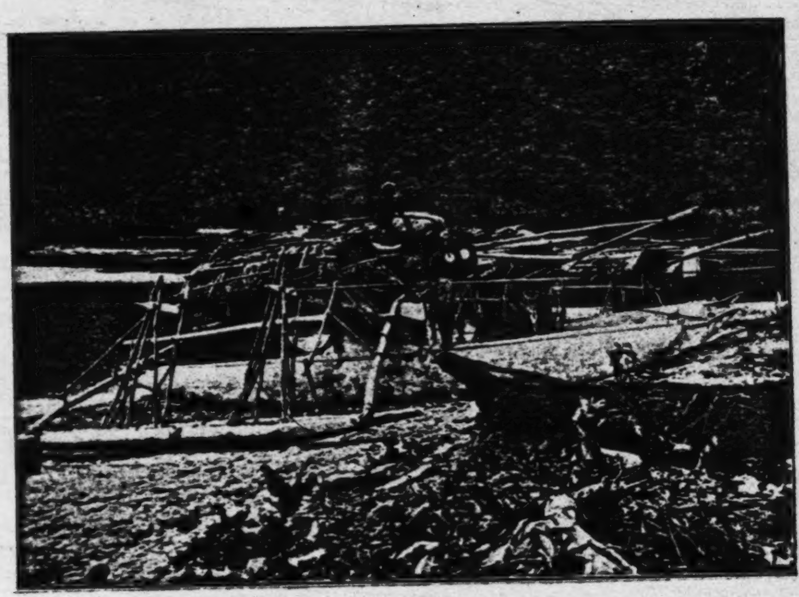

Fig. 39. Sailboat pulled onto the beach. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

[108] [Fig. 40 appears here.] In the small boats with the outrigger beam tapering to a point, these beams are each connected by two pairs of sticks that diverge from top to bottom lengthwise and converge crosswise. They are fastened at the top with rattan, and below they are pegged to the float. In addition, a curved stick runs from each edge of the outrigger bridge [109] toward the float, but does not quite reach it; instead, it is fastened to it by a separate, vertical connecting rod. The inner parts of the frame are held against one another by a longitudinal strip of wood; the curved sticks are additionally supported by a longitudinal strip lying on the ends of the main crossbeam (Fig. 23). The outrigger frame of the large boats

1: Graebner--72 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[108]

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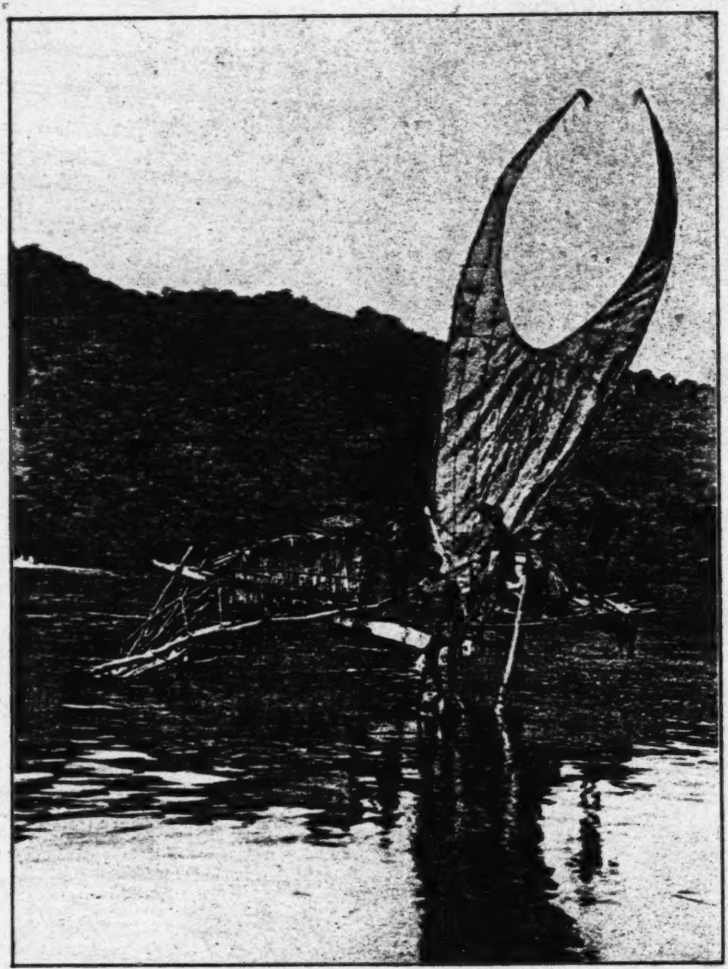

Fig. 40. Sailboat in motion. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

[109 cont.]

501 corresponds to the one described in all the essential points. The last-named longitudinal strip is lacking. On the other hand, the center vertical rod structure is reinforced with additional rods, and on either side of the curved sticks a stouter beam connects the edge of the outrigger bridge directly with the float. These outer crossbeams are tied to the curved sticks with rattan lashings and are mutually reinforced by a longitudinal beam lying under the main crossbeam of the outrigger. In the large boats a final reinforcement of the outrigger consists of a second, weaker and shorter beam, similarly shaped, which is tied to the outer side of the float, perhaps to protect the outrigger from any kind of assault from that side (Fig. 39) (1).

1. Cf. Dalrymple, p. 195. Carteret, p. 359. Labillardière, pp. 250, 254. Dillon, p. 277. Markham, p. 140. Coote, p. 154. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 46.

On the main crossbeams of the outrigger the outrigger bridge is made chiefly of bamboo laths -- in D'Urville, partly of wood (2). In the large boats it has a protective roof covered

2. This is also true of a defective model in the R.-J.-Museum, No. 17854.

with atap and open toward the inner side of the boat for the storing of provisions, weapons, etc., under which a fire can be built (Figs. 39 and 40). On all boats the two wooden supports of a second platform are fastened between the inner edge of the outrigger bridge and the edge of the boat-box. This platform opposite the outrigger bridge projects over the other edge of the body of the boat and is supported below by the above-mentioned shorter projections of the box (Fig. 40). It, too, serves to carry loads; in the small boats a little protective roof seems to be erected on it at times, similar to the one on the outrigger bridge of the large boats (Fig. 23). The edges of both platforms are

[109 cont.]

501 decorated with strips of leaves and bunches of fibers attached to them (3). A raft shown in D'Urville likewise bears a platform

3. Cf. Labillardière, p. 254. Dillon, p. 277. (He gives the width of the platform as six feet.) Coote, pp. 151 f.

raised on posts, and extending out from it on two crossbeams there is an outrigger whose fastening is similar to that on the rowboats (4).

4. D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 161, Nos. 1 and 2.

The oars everywhere are decorated on the upper part of [531] the blade (Fig. 41) (5). As the motif, a pair of human legs,

5. Dewar, p. 246. Edge-Partington, I, 160, No. 3.

[110] [Fig. 41 appears here] and sometimes also fish forms, is always found. An oar with a relatively short, wide, heart-shaped [111] blade and a long shaft tied to it (Fig. 40) is used to steer the sailboats (1). Markham mentions an oar over five

1. Somewhat distorted in D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 161, No. 7. An ordinary oar with shaft joined to it: Berlin VI 15998.

feet long with a long blade and a cross-handle from Lomlom (2).

2. Markham, p. 140. Cf. also, however, the oar handle in Edge-Partington, loc. cit.

The sail is sewed together out of strips of the leaf sheath of a

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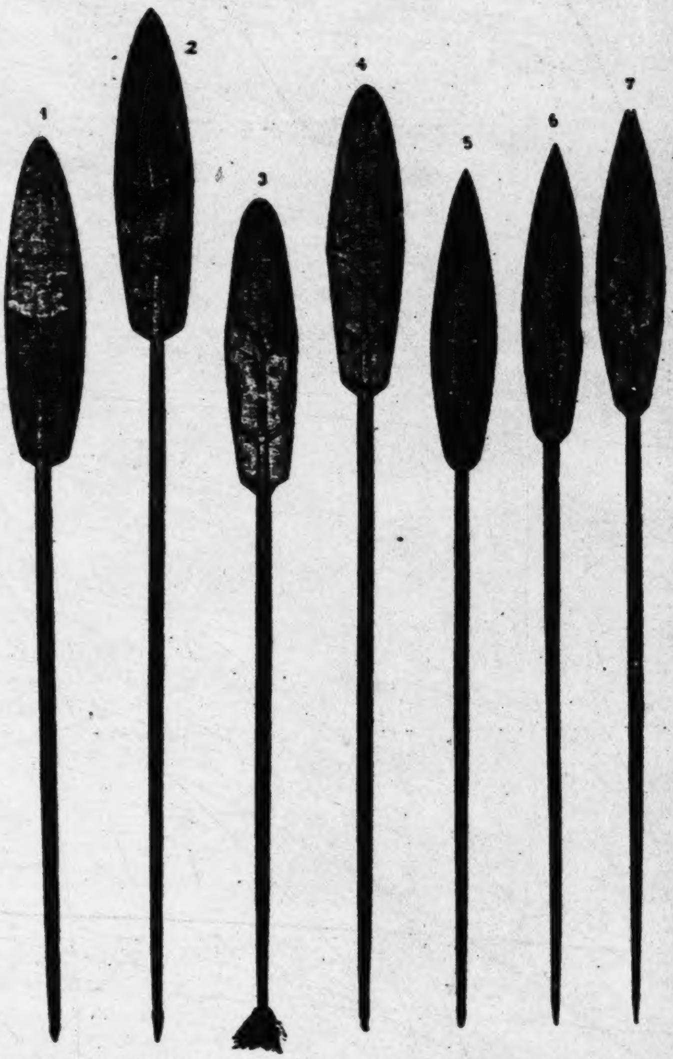

Fig. 41. Oars (R.-J.-M. 4639, 4644, 4641, 4637, 4642, 4643, 4640, Joest Coll.); 1.63-2 meters long. No. 8 is the reverse side of blade No. 2. End of handle of No. 3 with tuft of coconut fibers.

[111 cont.]

501 palm and is shaped like crab pincers with a deep, curved indentation. The side edges are fastened to the slightly bent sail-poles, which meet at the bottom. The very slanting, weak mast is pierced at the top. The halyard runs through the hole and holds one sail-pole approximately above the lower fifth. The lower end of the sail apparently rests on the platform or on one end of the boat (Fig. 40) (3). We are not informed about how the 502 sail is handled or how the boats are maneuvered in general; [Fig. 42 appears here] Labillardière (4) maintains that the rowboats when in motion always had their outriggers on the left, which is also the case for the sailboat in Figure 40 and the one in D'Urville (5), whereas, according to Dillon, the outrigger is found on the weatherside (6).

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3. Cf. Dalrymple, pp. 194 f. (even Figueroa calls the sails "curious" [cited in English] and thus undoubtedly had the peculiar sails of the present-day islanders in mind). Coote, p. 152. According to Joest in Baessler, p. 395, [824] coconut or banana leaves are sometimes used as sails on small boats. Cf. also the illustrations in D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 161, 162, and 184.

4. Labillardière, p. 255.

5. D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 184.

6. Dillon, p. 277. It is not very probable that the contradiction can be explained by the difference in locality (in the case of Labillardière, Ndeni, and in the case of

[111 cont.]

Dillon, Vanikoro); it is more likely a matter of chance that Labillardière, during his brief stay, perhaps observed only boats with outriggers on the left side because of wind conditions. 502

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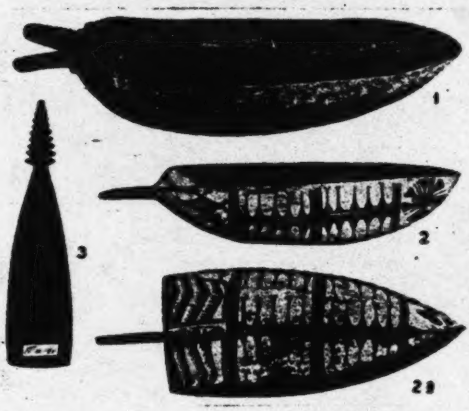

Fig. 42. Boat scoops (R.-J.-M. 4009 and 19438, Joest and Oldman Coll.; Berlin VI 16177, Thilenius Coll.); 52, 42, and 24.7 cm. long. 2a is the underside of 2. No. 3 comes from Graciosa Bay.

When they are not in use, the boats are pulled up on land; according to several reports, the large boats lying on the beach were covered with palm leaves, apparently to protect them from drying out (7). All the boats are [112] painted white 504

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7. Carteret, p. 359. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 372. Dillon, p. 288. Carteret speaks of roofs for shade, thus giving

[112 cont.]

504 the impression that there are regular boathouses. They are never mentioned in the reports about the types of huts, however.

501 All the boats are [112] painted white
[386] with lime, which is perhaps supposed to prevent too much water
from seeping in through the soft wood (1). The water that leaks
in is bailed out with the well-known scoops (2), of which, be-
sides the

[171] sides the unusually small kind in Figure 42, No. 3, there are
two types on Ndeni: the ordinary Polynesian type with a handle
projecting inward (Fig. 42, No. 1), and one that has the same
basic shape, but the handle projects from the back, as on a
ladle (Figure 42, No. 2). Of the specimens illustrated, Figure
42, No. 1, shows a carved handle, whereas Figure 42, No. 2,
[531] is painted white on the inside and the entire outer surface is
covered with black and red ornaments which, of course, must
be renewed after each use (3).

502 Even the Spaniards praised the speed of the boats of

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1. Coote, p. 151. Dewar, p. 246. The latter mentions the painting with white lime only for the inside of the boat, presumably because it is partially washed off on the outside each time the boat is taken out (like the oars of the northern Solomons, whose paint must likewise be renewed after each use).

2. Coote, p. 151.

3. An almost identical specimen in the Berlin Museum VI 25858.

[112 cont.]

502 Ndeni (4). Coote says of those on the Reef Islands that they sail

4. Dalrymple, p. 195. Burney, p. 290.

badly against the wind, but that before the wind they sail very well. The frequent capsizing of the boats, despite the outrigger, [481] does not disconcert the occupants; swimming in the water, they right the vessel again, remove the water in large part by a swinging motion, and scoop out the rest with the water scoops. With the large sea-going boats they go far beyond sight of land, guided only by their knowledge of the points of the compass and the stars. Of special significance for sea journeys is the time of the [132] monsoon, which lasts approximately from February to April. According to Coote, the natives were able to tell the exact location of their island even from a great distance, and the same traveler [868] observed how an older boy on the ship taught a younger one the 484 names of the stars (5). There is lively traffic between the

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5. Dillon, p. 219 (monsoon = rakeys). D'Urville, p. 194. Gaimard, ibid., p. 338. Coote, pp. 151 f. Joest in Baessler, p. 395.

individual parts of the group, as well as with the neighboring Polynesian islands, the heaviest between Ndeni and the Reef Islands and between Vanikoro and Tikopia. Moreover, Ndeni and the Reef Islands have contact with Sikaiana, as does Vanikoro [304] with Ndeni and the Reef Islands. A native of Vanikoro was tattooed on Mami, an island adjacent to Ndeni, and since then he has visited almost all the Reef Islands. Through Tikopia, the Vanikorese were also familiar with the Banks Islands. A native 823 of Vanikoro was able [113] to draw a large number of the islands on a sketch which, of course, was inaccurate (1). Mixed marriages

1. Dalrymple, pp. 146 ff. Burney, pp. 290 ff. Dillon, pp. 158, 167, 268.

[113 cont.]

484 177 103 438 439 Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 307. D'Urville, pp. 113, 136, 176, 193, 197. Coote, p. 157. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 81. According to D'Urville, pp. 322 and 362, a native of Uea lived on Tikopia. According to Thilenius, Ethnograph. Ergebnisse aus Melanesien [Ethnographic Results from Melanesia], I, p. 27, and Globus, LXXXI, p. 135, Ndeni also trades with some of the New Hebrides; despite Codrington, did this come about through European influence? [113]

648 Mixed marriages
177 between Vanikoro and Tikopia took place, at least among the
[191] chiefs' families. A number of Vanikorese understood the Polynesian idioms. At times Vanikoro stood in a dependent relationship with Tikopia, a situation whose aftereffects may have
[776] included the worship on Vanikoro of an atua[1] from Tikopia in
438 439 D'Urville's day (2). Chiefly, however, traffic between the individual islands is based on commercial interests: Vanikoro obtained tapa and fine mats from Tikopia, whereas Tikopia obtained mother-of-pearl and finished articles, such as necklaces made from cowrie-like shells (?) and bows and arrows, from Vanikoro (3).

2. Dillon, p. 167. D'Urville, pp. 155, 217; on Vanikoro Gaimard observed a dance imported from Tikopia (in D'Urville, p. 333) and reports, p. 342, that the language of Utupua and Ndeni was known. Cf. also Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257 ff. [535]

3. Dillon, p. 171.

For the northern islands as far as Sikaiana, Vanikoro was the
[313] chief export point for wood for boat-building, because of its forests (4).

[1] [atua = supernatural beings or gods--Analyst.]

4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

[113 cont.]
396 forests (4). The boat-building industry itself also flourished there;[1]
[000] a chief is mentioned as a great boat-builder (5). After the
[177] catastrophe of La Pérouse, which dumped large quantities of
ironwork into the laps of the natives there, there was a decline in
[438 the industry of the island, which thereafter obtained almost all
439] its needs in industrial products from the neighboring islands in exchange for iron (6).

437 Trade is everywhere a vital concern of the inhabitants.
[439] They always sailed out to meet European travelers with coconuts,
yams, etc., pigs, chickens, pigeons, arrows, mats, boat models
or toy boats, and other things, in order to initiate trade (7). Yet
they are difficult to deal with. The Vanikorese had scarcely
[435] been provided with a certain amount of European necessities by
Dillon when they demanded exorbitant prices for all provisions
from the subsequent expedition of D'Urville (8). On Ndeni Dewar

4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

5. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 332, 334. Dewar, p. 248, mentions boat-building on Ndeni.

6. D'Urville, p. 196.

7. Labillardière, p. 251. Dillon, p. 293. Wilson, p. 295. Markham, p. 159. Coote, pp. 151, 153, 159. Dewar, p. 246. According to Dillon, p. 264, the women, in their own boats, also took part in this trade.

8. D'Urville, p. 145 and elsewhere.

[1] [i.e., on Vanikoro --Analyst.]

[113 cont.]

437 Dillon, however, p. 163, says that gifts were always offered in return for gifts given to them.

found transactions tiresome because in each case the seller entered into long consultations with the bystanders about the price he should accept (9). [114] Joest says that the only things

9. Dewar, p. 248.

[181] that will induce the native to get up early are war and making money; everyone wants to become a capitalist. The same [577] traveler maintains that they cheat whenever they can, and even if they are caught at it, they show neither shame nor embarrassment (1).

1. Joest in Baessler, pp. 373 f., 391 f. However, cf. Moresby, pp. 82 and 87.

436 In former times shell money supposedly was used on Ndeni, probably like the strings of shell disks worn around the neck and the body (2). A peculiarity of the group, which incidentally, is

2. Codrington, p. 324.

confirmed only for Ndeni and the Reef Islands, [Fig. 43 appears here] is feather money (3). Each piece (Fig. 43) consists of a

[113] 3. Cf. E. H. Giglioli in Archivio per l'Antropologia e Etnologia, XXXV, pp. 389 ff. Edge-Partington, I, 165, No. 1. Codrington, p. 324. Coote, p. 155. (The statement that feather money is actually worn around the body like a belt on festive occasions, as Coote maintains, is undoubtedly only a vague conjecture.) Joest, Tagebuch, p. 53.

[114 cont.]

436 kind of long strap made of fibers wound around two stout cords -- in part with two additional lighter central cords -- as a base. This strap is covered along its entire length with overlapping tile-shaped scales of pigeon feathers, and on the upper side of these [825] scales are pasted the delicate red feathers of *Trichoglossus massena*, [223] a kind of parrot. The birds are caught with lime twigs deep in the bush, but before that the hunter may not eat anything hot or fat (4). The Berlin piece of money shows a rhombic black and white plaiting in the middle of the underside, on the edges of which are two tufts of fibers. The ends show sewing with pieces of palm leaves and a plaited cord that comes to a point and ends in tufts of fibers and two strings. The latter are fastened to the two bark spirals on which the money is wound. Often [115] pieces of wood, carved in a variety of ways and decorated with Coix chains, are also fastened to the ends of the money. Instead [237 778] of them there may be pigs' teeth or special stones that have a religious significance and are said to be more highly prized than money itself (1).

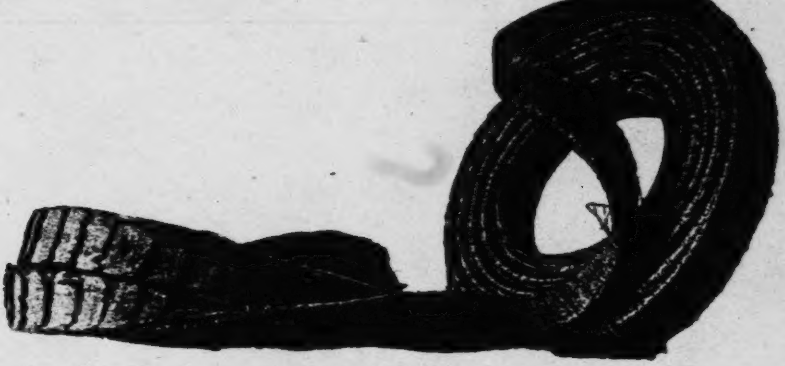

Fig. 43. Feather money (Berlin VI 16005, Joest Coll.). Total length 7.135 meters, width 4.2 cm., width of bark spirals 16 and 18 cm.

4. Codrington, *loc. cit.*

[115 cont.]

436 money itself (1). The pieces of money seen and collected by European travelers were all old, usually so old that the parrot-feather trimming had become insignificant or invisible and the specimens looked like old leather straps (2). During special [556] festivities the pieces belonging to the host are displayed at the place where the festivities are held. According to Codrington, there are also shorter pieces for daily use, but in former times shell money probably served for this purpose. [583] The bride price is paid exclusively in feather money (3).

802 It is in keeping with the commercial talents of the natives that they can easily count up to 100,000, according to Joest. When they count with their hands, they compute with the fingers bent; thus the closed fist with the thumb tucked under means five, with one finger outstretched, four, and so forth. Joest did not find them counting with their feet (4). Markham mentions a sort of knotted string made of strips of palm leaf, which he interprets as a counting device. [714] When the body of Bishop Patteson was returned, the string was found in the folds of the tapa in which the corpse was 000 wrapped. According to Markham's interpretation, the five

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1. Edge-Partington, I, 165, Nos. 1, 2; 163, Nos. 2-4.

2. Coote, p. 155. Director Foy tells me that well-preserved, that is, new specimens are to be found in the museum in Cambridge.

3. Codrington, p. 239. Joest in Baessler, p. 379.

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 393.

[115 cont.]

000 knots indicated the number of Europeans that the natives supposedly had killed (5). This is a pure conjecture, of course, the the accuracy of which probably cannot be judged at the present time.

Work and Handwork

462 Handwork -- it cannot be called domestic work, as we shall soon see -- is carried on almost exclusively by the men on Santa Cruz. The women do most of the cultivation of the soil, engage in a certain amount of net-fishing, at least on Vanikoro, and prepare the meals (6). They are also [482] the beasts of burden; according to Joest, they carry as many as 100 coconuts in bags with a strap running across the forehead, and Coote tells of how on Ndeni the men never thought of helping their European guests haul their boats up on the beach, but fetched the women for this (7). There is only one industry that is carried on by women on Santa [116] Cruz, as all through the South Seas, although definite data [282 291] are lacking; this is the manufacture of bark cloth, [Fig. 44 appears here] which serves them for aprons and head cloths. 287 Here the material is made of breadfruit or fig bast and is rather crude (1). It is made with the customary wooden

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5. Markham, p. 65.

6. Cf. pp. 55 f., 64.

7. Joest in Baessler, p. 380. Coote, p. 161. Joest speaks of carrying-nets, which are otherwise unknown.

1. Cf. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 379.

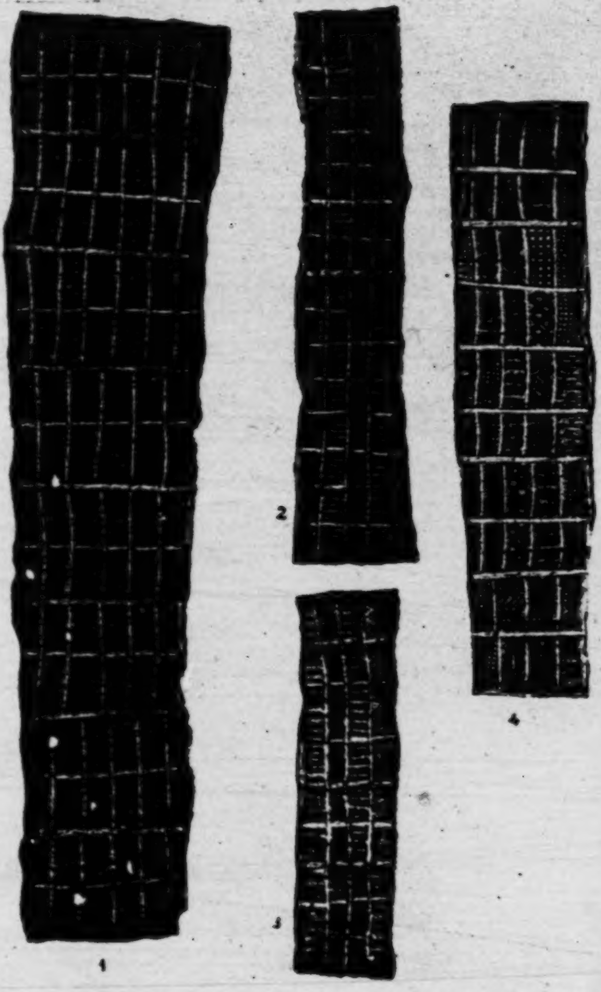

Fig. 44. Bark cloth, painted black (R.-J.-M. 3987, 3985, 3984, and 3986, Joest Coll.); 3.40 meters, 2.04 meters, 1.42 meters, and 2.17 meters long.

287 [116 cont.]

Labillardière, p. 260. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 264 (Ficus).

beaters (Fig. 45, Nos. 1-3). Besides the pieces in natural [386] color, [117] there are those dyed with Curcuma, but especially those that are ornamented in black (Fig. 46)[1] (1). For the

1. Also Berlin VI 16003, 16004, 16197. Schmeltz and Krause, Die Ethnogr.-Anthropol. Abteilung des Mus. Godeffroy [The Ethnographic-Anthropological Division of the Godeffroy Museum], p. 117. Concerning the patterns on them, cf. Thilenius, Globus, LXXX, pp. 138 f.

[53] patterns, the so-called tapa-markers of wood are supposedly used (Fig. 45, Nos. 4-5), and it is said that the points of the carved-out notches serve to mark the intersections of the lines of the design (2).

2. According to a written communication from Professor G. Thilenius in a letter dated August 10, 1908. The statement may be correct even if the tapa-markers are actually yam knives from the Torres Islands, or imitations of such. Cf. p. 209.

462 [241] The men, on the other hand, help in cultivating the soil only to the extent of clearing the bush. In the bachelors' houses they probably also prepare their own meals (3). Otherwise,

3. Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 327.

wise, they are described as lazy. At night they chat [Fig. 45

[1] [The author apparently means Fig. 44 --Analyst.]

[117 cont.] At night they chat [Fig. 45
412 appears here] and therefore sleep late (4). But they do have time
[521]

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 394.

and hence produce things that are not to be despised. Their sphere of activity includes first of all, as everywhere, woodworking, especially the building of houses and boats (5). The 322

5. Cf. pp. 36 ff., 68 ff.

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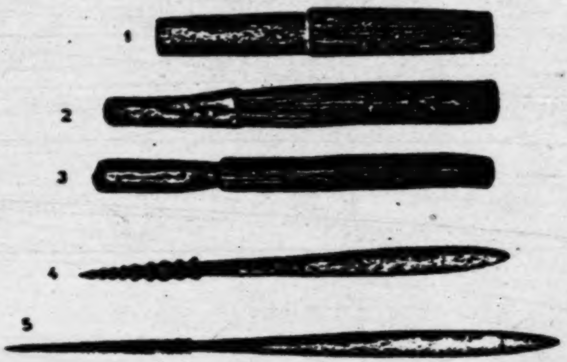

Fig. 45. Tapa implements. 1-3. Tapa beaters of wood (R.-J.-M. 4011, 4015, and 4012, Joest Coll.); 33.5, 40, 40 cm. long. 4 and 5. "Tapa-markers" of wood (two types from the series Berlin VI 16404-16409, Thilenius Coll.; length between 43 and 63 cm.); perhaps yam knives from the Torres Islands.

[412] principal tool is the shell ax (Fig. 46, Nos. 1 and 2) (6), with a

6. Codrington, p. 313. Edge-Partington, I, 162, No. 4.

rotatable mounting and a Tridacna blade tied to it. For polishing a file is used, the friction surface of which consists of the skin of a shark or ray tied over it (Fig. 46, No. 3) (7). Strips of [287]

7. Edge-Partington, I, 163, No. 9.

[117 cont.] Strips of
283 rattan serve for lashings (8), or, for finer work, plaited or twisted

8. Dalrymple, pp. 89, 193.

rope and strings of coconut and other plant fibers (Fig. 47, Nos.
1 and 2). The twisting of the string is done on the upper thigh
413 with the ball of the right thumb (9). As a special tool, probably

9. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 86.

used in preparing [118] [Fig. 46 appears here] atap for roof
[237] coverings, the needles of pigs' ribs must be mentioned (Fig. 47,
396 No. 3) (1). Boat-building, as everywhere in Polynesia, is a craft
461

1. Edge-Partington, III, 65, No. 3. Berlin VI 16002. It is not wholly improbable that the needles are used for the embroidery of the plaited bags; cf. pp. 101 f.

that is particularly respected. In Vanikoro a chief was a famous boat-builder -- Gaimard, however, also gives evidence that the boat-builders had no perseverance and very often rested (2) --

2. Cf. p. 81. Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 334.

396 and on Ndeni the craft was hereditary in certain families. By
[428] washing the hand of his son with water, the artist transmits his
skill to his heir before his death. The completion of a boat is
therefore connected with certain formalities, for example the
builder must row the new boat out to sea and then let it be tossed
[784] about on the breakers so that the spirit of the place where the tree
was felled is driven away. He also believes that this will keep
evil influences away from the ax that was used for the work (3).

3. O'Ferrall in J.A.I., XXXIV, p. 225.

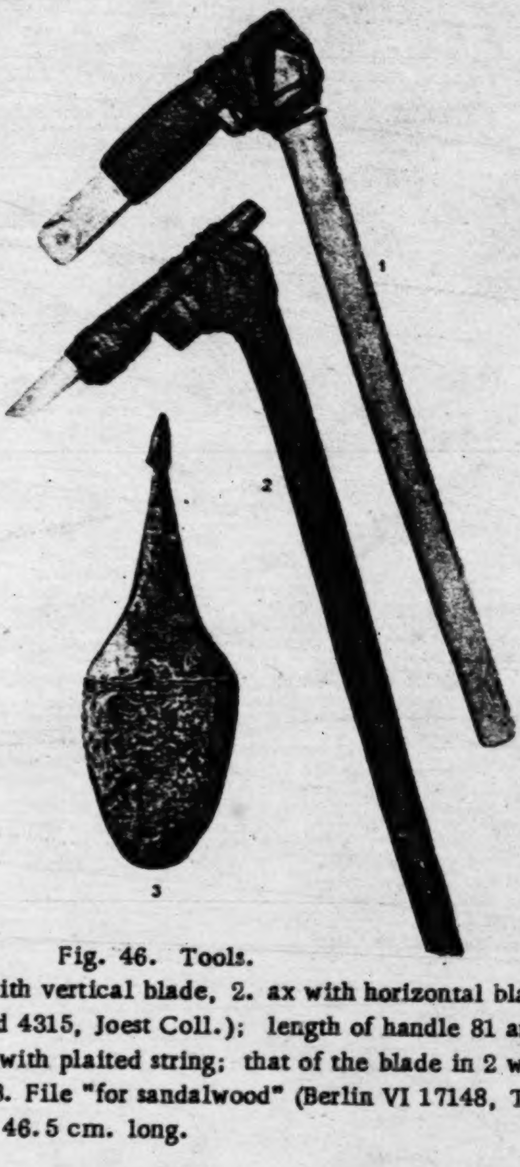

Fig. 46. Tools.
1. Ax with vertical blade, 2. ax with horizontal blade (R. -J.-M. 4316 and 4315, Joest Coll.); length of handle 81 and 85 cm. Lashing with plaited string; that of the blade in 2 with untwisted fiber. 3. File "for sandalwood" (Berlin VI 17148, Thilenius Coll.); 46.5 cm. long.

[119]

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Important obligations [Fig. 47 appears here] of the men -- carried out jointly in the bachelors' house (1) and therefore not

1. For Vanikoro: Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 355 f; Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 267.

to be designated as domestic work in Bücher's sense -- are the making of weapons and ornaments, chiefly, however, weaving and probably also plaiting (2). To begin with the latter, besides 285

2. Joest in Baessler, p. 381.

mats for sleeping and sitting (Figs. 48 and 49) (3) made of strips

3. Cf. p. 35.

of pandanus leaves in single-mesh work with the edges finished off by simply plaiting in the ends perpendicularly (Fig. 48), various types of bags are also plaited (4). Here the material is also

4. Dalrymple, p. 194, mentions only "bags and pockets of palm" [cited in English], but that is probably only an inexact statement.

often pandanus, as, for example, in the first type of the pouch-bag. In this case the plaiting begins with the bottom, which is made as a rectangular, single-mesh plaiting of varying size. When the desired size of the bottom piece is reached, the insertion of new strips ceases and the strips that have all been running in the same direction are likewise plaited in single-mesh perpendicularly into the finished web, starting from the center. [Fig. 48 appears here.] The border is secured in two ways: by plaiting in reverse, and by plaiting two or more strands along the border somewhat below the actual edge. At four equidistant points along the border, the [120]

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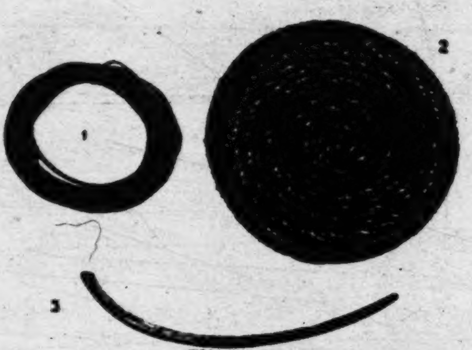

Fig. 47. 1. Twisted string of brown fiber, rubbed with a waxy substance (coconut oil?) (R.-J.-M. 4044, Joest Coll.); one mm. thick, bundle 7 1/2 cm. in diameter. 2. Plaited string of coconut fiber (R.-J.-M. 4392, Joest Coll.; 1.1 cm. thick, ball 13 cm. in diameter. 3. Needle of pig's rib (R.-J.-M. 4461, Joest Coll.); 15 cm. long.

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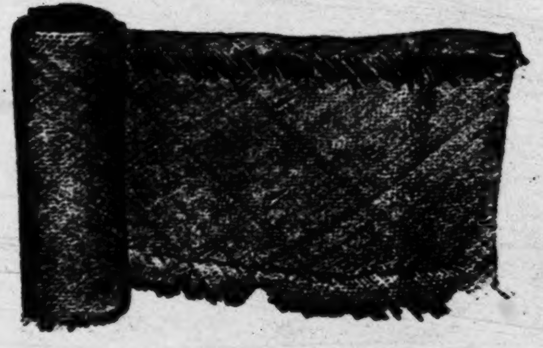

Fig. 48. Mat for sleeping (R.-J.-M. 3988, Joest Coll.; 50 cm. wide, total length 8.70 meters.

[120 cont.]

adjacent strips of a longer or shorter border area are no longer worked in, but are joined from both sides, and in each case form a dangling plaited cord, like a braid, with knotted ends. Some of the interlaced strips project out of the braid-plaiting close to the edge of the bag and form a decorative tuft of fibers (Fig. 50, Nos. 1-4). In the smaller bags a simple pattern is obtained by the use of various darker strips (Fig. 50, Nos. 3 and 4). Less often the entire bag consists of a simple rectangular plaiting [Fig. 49 appears here] uniformly carried out, so that the bag-shape is achieved only through use, namely, through the stretching of the weighted bottom surface. In this case the carrying cords extend from the corners of the plaiting (Fig. 50, Nos. 5 and 6). One bag in the collection is related to this latter type, and it is differentiated chiefly by its double-mesh work. Also the edge is not secured by reverse plaiting; instead, the strips are plaited into tiny braids and fashioned into a delicate

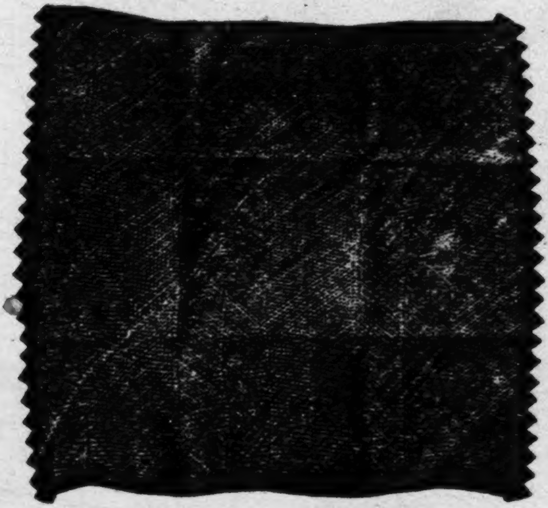

Fig. 49. Mat for sitting (R.-J.-M. 3896, Joest Coll.); 46 by 46 cm.

[120 cont.]

285 open-work edge outside the intertwined border (Fig. 50, No. 8). Another related form is plaited out of strips of coconut leaves; the bottom is triple-meshed, and the connecting pieces that are plaited in between the turned-up corners are single-meshed. Along most of the border, one layer of end-strips is left free and cut off; the other is plaited in. At two corners the strips are intertwined, net-like, into small braids which are then joined to form two at each corner or a total of four braided carrying-straps. Tufts of brown fiber are plaited into the lower corners of the bag as well as the lower ends of the straps (Fig. 50, Nos. 9 and 10). The last type to be included here is a bag plaited out of soft fibers, but otherwise like the first type, without carrying-straps and without the finished border, with long fringe-like [121] [Fig. 50 appears here] [122] [Fig. 51 appears here] fiber ends (Fig. 50, No. 7). The Berlin collection has a very similar "yam bag" with four carrying-straps (1).

1. Berlin VI 16201: yam basket, *badli* (Thilenius).

We come now to quite different, more familiar types in the form of flat bags. They may be divided into two main groups. The first (Fig. 51, No. 4) is single-meshed and plaited out of pandanus. The border is secured by a two-strand interlacing, while the ends of the strips are left free and cut off; a braid-like carrying-cord with ornamental tufts at the lower end extends from each of the upper corners. The second group is made of plaited coconut leaves and in each case has a narrower single-meshed strip at the edge, while the main part of the bag is plaited in a double-mesh with strips halved in width, whereby a kind of striped pattern is achieved through occasionally shifting the meshes. The ends of the strips are intertwined at the lower edge toward the corners and continue there as braid-like strings that [123] are generally drawn through the edges of the sides several times and sometimes continue as carrying-straps from the upper corners (Fig. 51, Nos. 1, 5-7). In a subtype not all the strips of

1: Graebner--95 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

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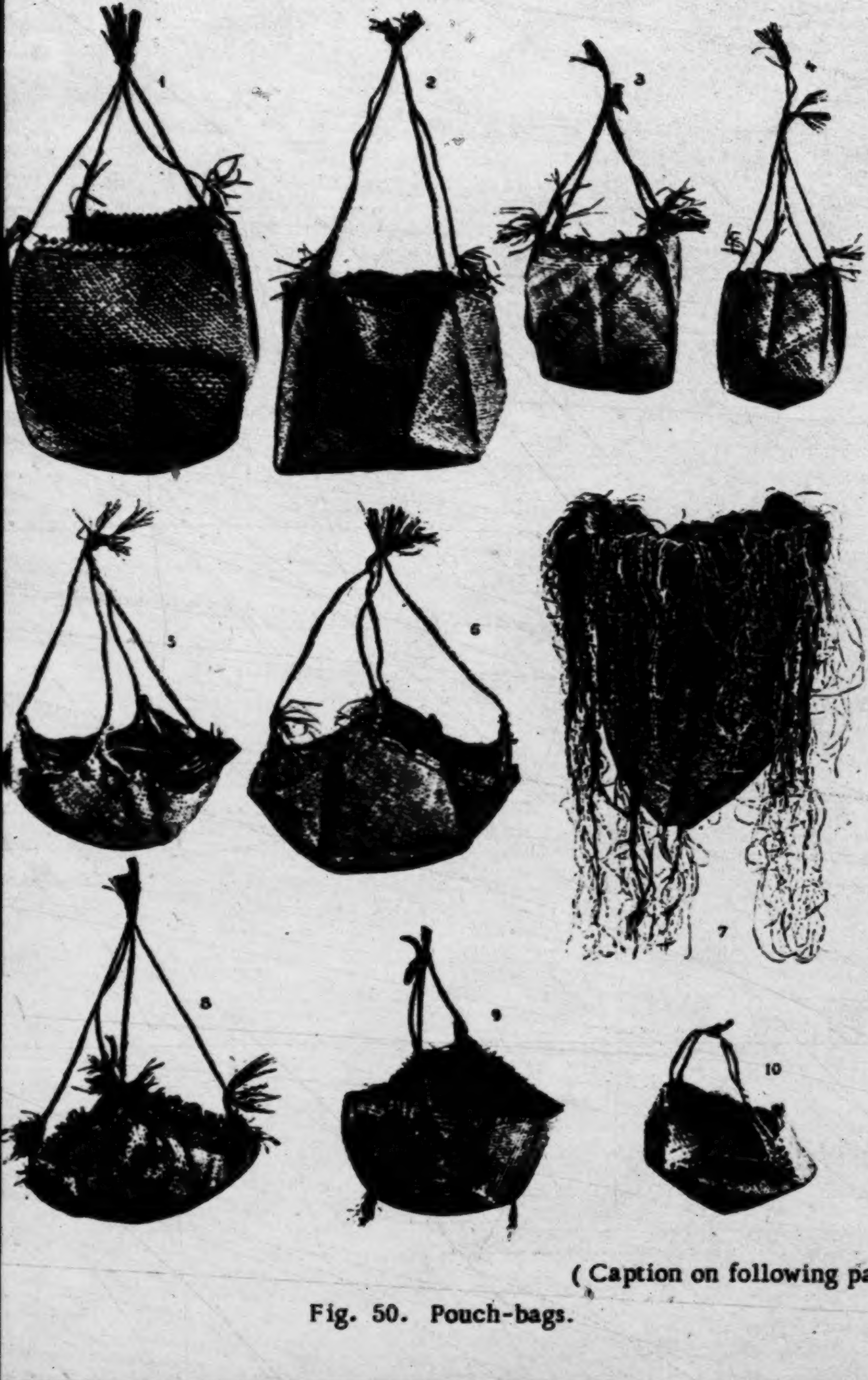
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(Caption on following page)

Fig. 50. Pouch-bags.

[121 cont.]

Caption for Fig. 50.

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1-6 and 8. Made of strips of pandanus leaves (R.-J.-M. 3857, 3846, 3863, 3872, 3902, 3910, and 3915, Joest Coll.); about 35, 30, 22, and 20 cm. high, 33, 31, and 35 cm. in diameter. 7. (Sack) of soft fiber (R.-J.-M. 3866, Joest Coll.); 46 cm. deep. 9 and 10. Made of strips of coconut leaves (R.-J.-M. 3843 and 3841, Joest Coll.); about 34 and 25 cm. in diameter.

[123 cont.]

285 the lower edge are plaited in toward the corners, but rather the center ones form a short plaited [Fig. 52 appears here] lappet on either side, which, in turn ends in a braid-like cord that is drawn up through the sides of the bag and serves as a carrying-strap (Fig. 51, Nos. 2 and 3).

As for baskets, only the well-known cylindrical baskets of plaited coconut leaves are present. Among them, too, the edge is single-meshed, and then the main portion of the sides is plaited in triple-mesh with strips in one-half or one-third widths. The bottom consists of half the number of strips, though in each case several are gathered together, and is single-meshed; in one specimen, another narrow single-meshed zone is previously inserted. The excess strips, plaited into rings, lie spirally under the edge of the basket bottom (Fig. 52). [Fig. 53 appears here.]

286
[171] A knowledge of weaving gives the culture of Santa Cruz a special character in contrast to the rest of Melanesia (1).

[184
438] 1. Dalrymple, p. 194. According to Thilenius, Globus, LXXXI, p. 134, it is practiced on Ndeni only along the coast, and the fabric is traded to the people of the bush for bark cloth.

Banana fiber is the material used, but it is considerably wider

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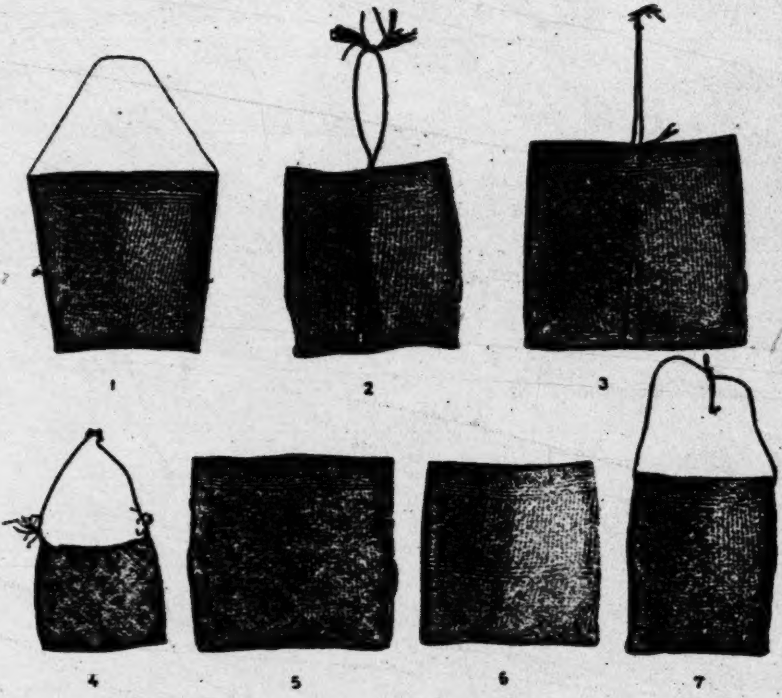

Fig. 51. Bags made of strips of coconut leaves (R.-J.-M. 3891, 3882, 3883, 3894, 3886, 3881, and 3885, Joest Coll.); 16-30 cm. deep.

1: Graebner--98 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[123]

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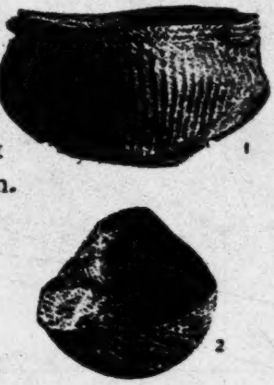
Fig. 52. Baskets made of strips of coconut leaves (R. -J. -M. 3845 and 3842, Joest Coll.); 39 and 23 cm. in diameter.



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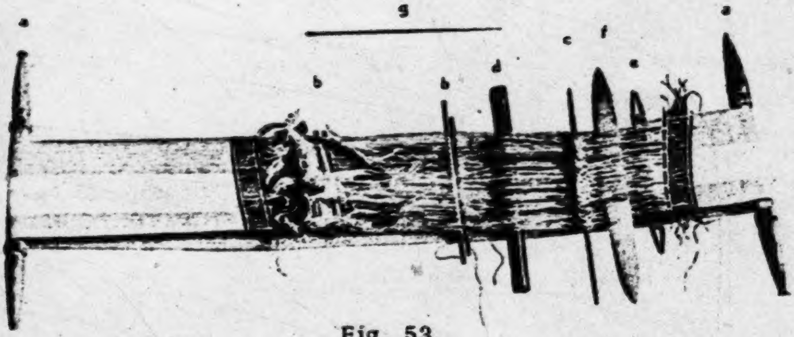

Fig. 53.
Loom (R. -J. -M. 4035, Joest Coll.); 1.40 meters long.

[123 cont.]

286 than what is ordinarily used in Micronesia and therefore produces a weave that resembles hibiscus fabric (2). The loom (Fig. 53)

[113] 2. Cf. p. 22, footnote 2, and p.101, footnote 1. Concerning the difference in fiber material, see Kubary, Ethnogr. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karolinen-Archipels [Ethnographic Contributions to Knowledge of the Carolines Archipelago], p. 62, footnote.

consists of the two sticks for tension (a) [124] -- what kind of girdle is used for weaving cannot be said -- two pairs of bamboo sticks to separate the threads (b), one of which is customarily placed at the beginning of the weaving, the other behind the section that is being woven, that is, at the end of the weaving; furthermore, the stick to lift the threads (c), the roller that forms the shed (d), the shuttle (e), and the batten (f). Besides narrow looms like the one shown in Figure 53 (1), which are

[113] 1. Edge-Partington, I, 160, No. 1. Also "A primitive loom" in Ann. Archaeol. Report, Toronto, 1906, pp. 48 f.

used to make narrow hip-cloths and bag fabrics, there are also wider ones (2), on which, besides wider hip-cloths, coarser mats

2. Dewar, p. 247 (ill.).

are chiefly woven. These mats (Fig. 54, No. 7) (3) have no

[113] 3. Probably Schmeltz and Krause, Die Ethnogr.-Anthrop. Abt. d. Mus. Godeffroy, p. 118.

[124 cont.]

281 patterning; their sole decoration consists of the loose warp threads hanging free at either end as fringes, as well as a few tufts of fibers, probably made of finer banana fibers, which are tucked into the smooth side edges. The apron and bag fabrics are different (Fig. 54, Nos. 1-6) (4). They are carefully designed with

4. Coote, pp. 155, 159.

strips of fiber dyed black on one side. Each black thread is pulled through the fabric over the corresponding thread of the weft with the aid of a wooden needle (Fig. 53g) (5), so that the

5. Edge-Partington, I, 160, No. 2 (with thread-eye).

ends of the black threads in an unfinished fabric stand out irregularly along the sides. When the weaving is finished, they are cut off evenly at the edge. The fabric is further adorned with tufts of fiber that are drawn through it -- again probably banana fiber, but much thinner than the fiber used in weaving -- along the edges and down the center line, as in the coarser mats. While these are drawn through after the whole thing is finished, the narrower fabrics have compact rows of fiber tufts knotted into the end borders -- in bag fabrics at the bottom -- during the weaving process itself. In the same way strips of pandanus leaves with frayed ends are likewise securely woven in (6). The ends of the

6. The underside of the weaving is seen in Fig. 14.

wider fabrics consist simply of the loose, fringe-like fiber ends of the warp; in the narrower aprons bunches of warp threads are knotted with finer tufts of banana fibers to form a thick fringe.

From such narrow fabrics are made the familiar men's [293] bags (Figs. 55 and 56), worn hanging over the chest or the back, in which -- though, according to Figures 20 and 22, also in bags

[124 cont.]

286 of the types described above -- each one carries the articles
[293] needed for daily use, such as betel and betel implements, nautilus
spoon for scraping out [125] [Fig. 54 appears here] [126] [Fig.
[294] 55 appears here] coconuts, and so forth (1). The technique[1] is

1. Coote, p. 159. Joest in Baessler, p. 379 (beliniuega). Danneil, "Der Übergang vom Flechten zum Weben [The Transition from Plaiting to Weaving]," Int. Arch. f. Ethnogr. XIV, pp. 236 f. Also in Dillon, p. 303, this bag form is probably meant. Illustration in: D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 178, No. 17 (poor); Edge-Partington, I, 161, No. 2. [113]

[294] simple, for only the edges of the weaving are sewed on the inner
side with string. The ends of the warp threads are simply knotted in bunches in the center; near the corners they lead into the two braid-like carrying-straps, either by means of woven lappets that taper up to a point (Fig. 55, No. 2), or the warp threads are first gathered together into twisted cords and thus form a net-like, lacy triangle, at the edges of which they [127] [Fig. 56 appears here] [128] combine into two braids leading into the carrying-strap (Fig. 55, Nos. 1 and 3). The excess fibers of the carrying cords, which become thinner at the top, form an ornamental appendage.
[386] Bags, as well as aprons, are sometimes dyed yellow with Curcuma (1).

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 381. In the present work, Fig. 56, No. 4.

285 In imitation of these bags made of woven material, plaited ones are also made (2). They consist of strips of pandanus

2. Schmeltz and Krause, Die Ethnogr.-Anthropol. Abt. d. Mus. Godeffroy, p. 119.

[1] [i.e. of making men's bags – ANALYST.]

1: Graebner--102 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

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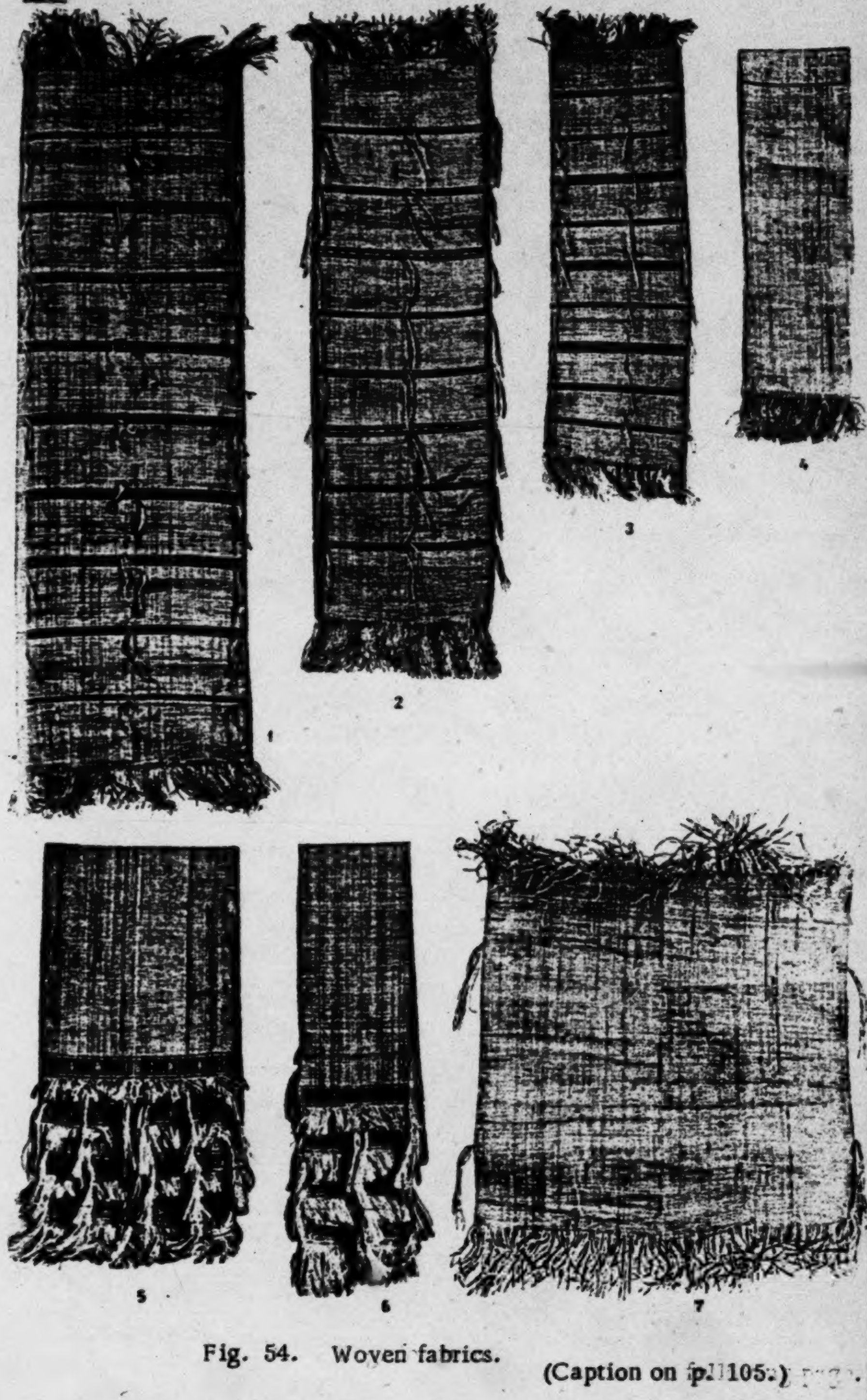

Fig. 54. Woven fabrics.

(Caption on p. 105.)

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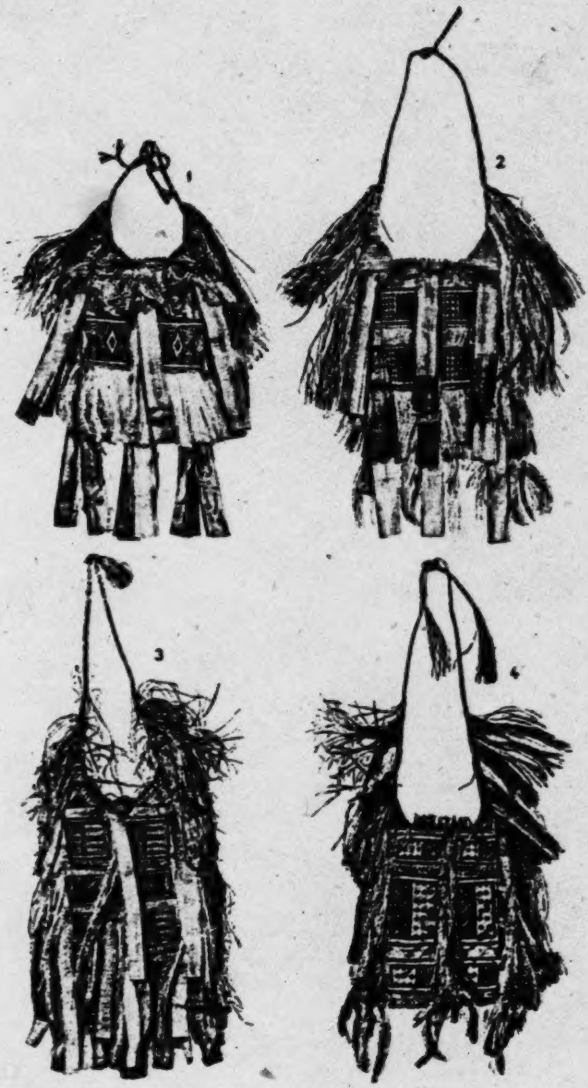

Fig. 55. Bags.

(Caption on p. 105.)

1:Graebner--104 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

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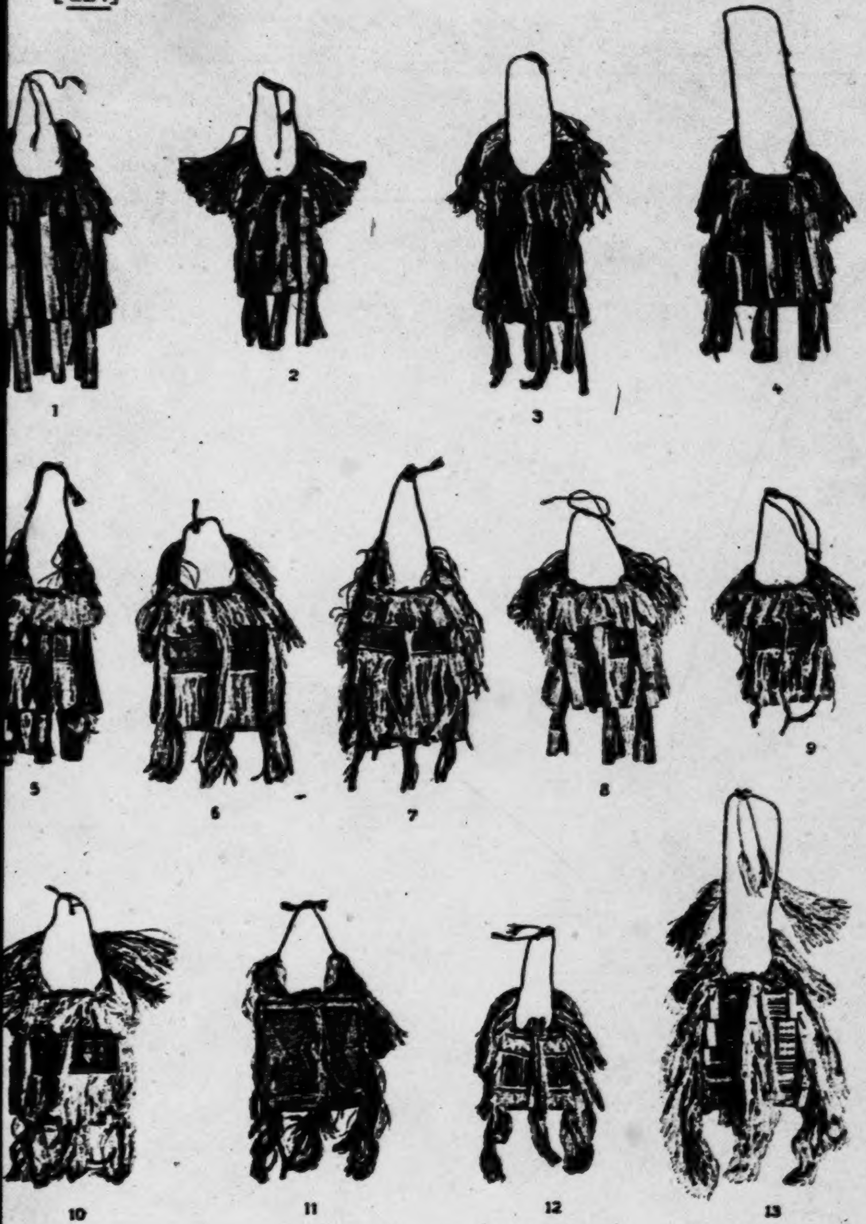
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Fig. 56. Bags for men.

(Caption on following page.)

1: Graebner--105 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

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Captions for Figs. 54, 55, and 56. [125, 126, 127]

Fig. 54. Woven Fabrics. 1-6. Men's aprons (R.-J.M. 3970, 3959, 3953, 3950, 3982, and 3957, Joest Coll.); length (Nos. 4-6,total length) 1.90 meters, 1.52 meters, 1.15 meters, 2.40 meters, 2.94 and 2.83 meters; width 63, 51, 38, 22, 40, and 22 cm. 7. Mat (R.-J.-M. 3972, Joest Coll.); 90 cm. wide.

Fig. 55. Bags (R.-J.-M. 3941, 3930, Berlin VI 9951, R.-J.-M. 3929, Joest Coll., the Berlin specimen Arning Coll.); about 21 cm. deep. 1-3. Woven. 4. Plaited. 3. With decorative flaps sewed on.

Fig. 56. Bags for men. 1-11. Woven (R.-J.-M. 3928, 3924, 3933, Joest Coll.; 6683, Danneil Coll., donated by Jul. Rautenstrauch; 3944, 3927, 3939, 3925, 3943, 3948, Joest Coll.; Berlin VI 18360, Mende Coll.). 12 and 13. Plaited (R.-J.-M. 3942 and 3945, Joest Coll.). Back of No. 9 without decoration, but otherwise like side shown. 4. Dyed yellow with Curcuma. Length of bags, 15 cm. (No. 12) - 24 cm. (No. 1). No. 13. 20 1/2 cm. long.

[128 cont.]

285 leaves and correspond technically to the type of flat pandanus bag described above (3). They resemble the woven bags not only in the way the upper edge is finished off and in the making of the carrying-straps, but also by the tufts of banana fiber and wide strips of pandanus leaves that are plaited in, as well as the embroidery (4) of patterns with black strips, although they seldom resemble the woven patterns (Fig. 55, No. 4). Nevertheless, the resemblance is close enough so that superficially they could be mistaken for a bag made out of woven material. Moreover, the [531] ornamentation is sometimes not applied to the actual body of the bag itself, but rather patterned pieces of plaiting or weaving are separately sewed on both surfaces (Figs. 55, No. 3, and 56, No. 12) (5).

3. Cf. p. 94.

4. This expression is not meant to deny that the ornamentation can be applied during the plaiting itself, that is to say, as long as the strands are still loose; it is meant simply to indicate that the ornamental threads are not part of the basic plaiting, but are added after the part of the plaiting involved is essentially finished.

5. Schmeltz and Krause, Die Ethnogr.-Anthrop. Abt. d. Mus. Godeffroy, pp. 117 f., mention a plaited bodice to protect the bags from perspiration. See also Danneil, "Der Übergang vom Flechten zum Weben," Int. Arch. f. Ethnogr. XIV, p. 236.

[113]

[128 cont.]

285 Even more deceptive is the resemblance of the patterned pouch-bags (Fig. 57) to the woven ones (6), because here, too,

6. Edge-Partington, I, 162, No. 3.

the ornaments are identical to the woven patterns or at least very similar to them. The basic plaiting consists of strips of pandanus leaves and is single-meshed -- only the innermost part of the bottom surface is sometimes double- or triple-meshed (Fig. 57, Nos. 2, 4, and 6) -- without any shifting of the strips. Thus, the pouch-form is achieved only by more tightly pressing together the plaiting strips toward the edge and by shortening the line of the edge as much as possible -- sometimes with folds -- by means of the edge-interweaving, which is never absent. As for the rest, the fastening of the loose ends of the strips shows variations similar to those among the related bag types previously described: interweaving, braids and lappets worked into a lacy edge or simply knotted. The carrying-straps are also made in the same way; only individual specimens have four pairs of strings, instead of the four single strings, or two pairs and two single strings. The black strips forming the pattern are plaited in afterwards (7); [129] [Fig. 57 appears here] [130] they are

7. See footnote 4.

as little a part of the basic plaiting as they are among the other woven work and bags, but rather lie on top of the strands, running in the same direction. These bags, too, are further decorated with inserted tufts of banana fibers, like the woven ones.

Politics, War

642 [77] The Spaniards found a well-developed chief-system on Ndeni as well as on Taumako; at the signal of their leader (Ndeni,

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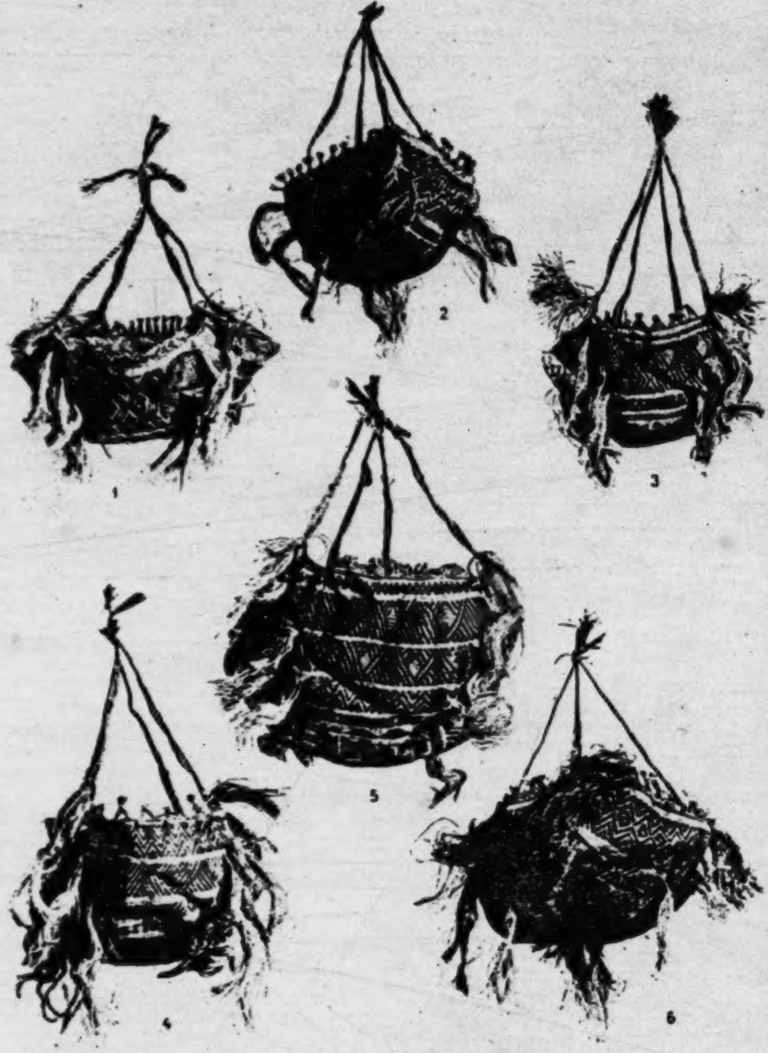

Fig. 57. Pouch-bags plaited out of strips of pandanus leaves (R.-J.-M. 3921, 3917, 3923, 3913, 3914, and 3920, Joest Coll.); about 25-36 cm. in diameter.

[130 cont.] at the signal of their leader (Ndeni,
642 "Taurike"; Taumako, "Taliken"), the natives took up arms
648 against the strangers and laying them aside, supplied the Spaniards
with food, in fact, even abandoned a village when Torres and
his people wanted to establish themselves there. Malope, the
friend of Mendana, enjoyed especially great esteem, and his
murder by Spanish soldiers was the signal for a general revolt.
The chief of Taumako, Tamay, interceded for four of his subjects
whom Quiros dragged off to use as interpreters. On his first
[554] formal visit, Malope, who was accompanied by two respected
natives, wore blue, yellow, and red feathers in his hair as a sign
of distinction. Tamay used his bow as a staff (1). Since that
642 time the importance of the chiefs seems to have diminished on
[178] Ndeni and to have entirely disappeared in parts of the island.
To be sure, Dillon and Coote mention chiefs; the former reports
[622 that as a rule each village has its chief, although some-
634] times one rules over four or five villages. Lamoa, the chief
[622] of the village visited by Dillon, seemed to enjoy some authority
among his subordinates. The occupants of the dance areas, of
whom Codrington speaks, are probably likewise chiefs (2). On
the other hand, Joest does not mention chiefs, nor are they
mentioned in the reports of natives translated by O'Ferrall, although
taboos are mentioned in them. D'Urville and Dillon
622 found the chief-system highly developed on Vanikoro, probably
as a result of the considerable Polynesian influence from Tikopia.
[171] Evidently a true chief's or prince's position in the Polynesian
[565] sense existed here. Gaimard lists quite a number of persons

1. Dalrymple, pp. 79, 81, 86 f., 128. Then cf. Labillardière, p. 260.

2. Dillon, pp. 299, 314. Coote, p. 159. Codrington, p. 333. Markham, p. 145, mentions chiefs on Nukapu.

[130 cont.] Gaimard lists quite a number of persons
622 [565] in each settlement, besides the actual village chief, who belong to the rank of chief. The chiefs -- it is not noted whether all of them or only the village chiefs, probably all, in view of what will presently be said about taboos -- enjoy religious respect, are the mediators with the atua. Dillon ascribes special religious standing to Moembe, the chief of Maneve. The chiefs of the
[565] entire group constituted a closed corporation, which did not take part in the quarrels of their subjects. Their esteem [131] ex-
[628] tended also to the inhabitants of neighboring villages to such an extent that they induced people who were at war with each other to separate and were able to bring about the return of prisoners.
[576] One village had a female chief (1). A sign of esteem is hand-

[554] 1. Dillon, pp. 153, 177, 193 f., 232, 266 (according to p. 177, the wife and daughter of a chief not only wore the bark belt, but also the breast disk of the men, but no ornaments in their short hair). D'Urville, pp. 135, 149, 172 f., 176, 183, etc. Quoy, ibid., p. 317. Sainson, ibid., p.
[262] 356 (he maintains that only the chiefs may eat pigs). Gaimard, ibid., pp. 323 ff., 327 f., 347 f.

[576] kissing, that is to say, probably the touching of the back of the hand with the nose (2).

2. D'Urville, pp. 175, 189.

622 784 [264] One of the principal functions of chiefdom in Polynesia is the taboo. On Vanikoro, refuse from the meals of a chief is taboo, wholly in the Polynesian manner, and is therefore tossed into the sea. On the other hand, only chiefs are not affected by the taboo that lies on any kind of object; for instance, they may enter tabooed areas without taking special precautions,

[131 cont.]

672 784 whereas ordinary people must first remove all their clothing (3).

784 There is evidence that the institution also exists on Ndeni, and when it is said that not everyone possesses the taboo (4), [888] the possessor of which, however, is not called meduka, "sorcerer," [178] it follows that the exercise of the taboo is probably just one of the privileges remaining from the vanishing chiefdom. The taboo is pronounced in exactly the same way as elsewhere. The one who possesses the taboo cuts twigs from four to six different trees and covers them with an object called ngeklo, which is not more specifically described, full of malete (5). With this pile of twigs he covers four twigs of another tree and puts the whole pile beside the object to be tabooed. No one would dare to touch a tabooed object or to take from a tabooed coconut palm, for example, so much as a dried leaf for a torch. The punish- [761] ment would be a weakness in the legs or even death (6).

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3. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 335, 346. Cf. also Sainson, ibid., p. 356, and Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 269. Also in F. de Tolna, pp. 273 ff., the tabooed corner marked off by a liana in the "chiefs' houses."

4. In contrast to Joest in Baessler, p. 388, who, however, goes on to say that usually the old people did it together on the village dance area.

5. Cf. p. 144 below.

6. O'Ferrall in J.A.I., XXXIV, p. 225.

[131 cont.]

628 The political relationship of the individual communities
to each other rests on constant mistrust. No native leaves his
village unarmed. If a chief on Vanikoro visits another village,
[622] a man precedes him in order to announce him (7). On the same
631 [132] island, according to the report of D'Urville, there was a
[103] kind of permanent confederation; Maneve, Vanikoro (the village),
Mambili, and Vanu were united against Teve, Nama, Paiu, and
721 Tanema (1). In any case, war is one of the chief concerns of the
[181] natives; the only one, besides a good business deal, that will
induce the inhabitant of Ndeni to get up early, according to
Joest (2). He mentions women and feather money as the causes
of war (3).

411 As for weapons, D'Urville is the only one who mentions
the blowgun, but only as a shooting implement of a single village on Vanikoro; moreover, he says himself that he merely
assumed its presence from the gestures of the inhabitants of
[535] Teve (4). The club (Figs. 58-60) appears on Ndeni only as

7. Quoy in D'Urville, p. 318. Gaimard, ibid., p. 334. Sainson, ibid., p. 354. Cf. also Joest in Baessler, pp. 390, 395.

1. D'Urville, p. (148), 183.

2. Joest in Baessler, p. 391.

3. Joest, ibid., p. 383. According to Carteret, p. 351, the natives were provoked by the cutting down of a (perhaps tabooed) coconut palm.

4. D'Urville, p. 166.

[132 cont.]

411 [535] dance equipment (5); on Nukapu, however, Bishop Patteson was

5. Joest in Baessler, p. 397. Mentioned in Dalrymple p. 79 (Burney, p. 151, however, speaks of "staves of heavy wood" [cited in English]). Markham, p. 145. Coote, pp. 158 f. (ill., p. 160). Edge-Partington, I, 155; a somewhat different shape, ibid., 156, No. 1. Dewar, p. 246 (ill., p. 247) calls it somewhat inaccurately "elaborately carved" [cited in English]. Schmeltz and Krause, Die Ethnogr.-Anthrop. Abt. d. Mus. Godeffroy, pp. 118 f.

apparently killed by a blow from a club, according to Markham (6).

6. Markham, p. 62.

000 411 It is not impossible, however, that this apparently premeditated murder should be regarded as a human sacrifice and therefore was performed with a cult implement (7). For the rest, the bow

7. Cf., however, the divergent form in Fig. 22.

and arrow must be regarded as the sole weapons (8) of the

8. Only for Nukapu does Markham, p. 145, mention spears as well as the bow and arrow, besides the clubs, which are probably dance clubs. I do not regard it as impossible, however, that this only refers to arrows or even fishing arrows, as is the case for the

[132 cont.]

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"javelin" in Dalrymple, pp. 79, 85; likewise in D'Entrecasteaux, p. 369 (contrary to Labillardière).

entire group (9). The bow (Fig. 61) is made of light wood,

9. Dalrymple, pp. 78, 85. Carteret, p. 351. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 369. Labillardière, p. 250. Dillon, pp. 145, 290. D'Urville, pp. 207, 318 f., 355 (Sainson: six feet long). The same author, Voyage au Pole Sud, V, p. 9. Markham, pp. 62, 140, 145, 159 f. Coote, pp. 150, 158. Dewar, p. 246 (ill., p. 376). Joest in Baessler, p. 390.

colored red, and is of uniform width between the two breaks at the foot of the round end pegs. On the inner side it is almost flat, on the outer side quite convex. The bowstring consists of a twisted fiber cord. One specimen of the Joest Collection is conversely curved. In this respect it contrasts to the rest of the well-known specimens, and the slight deviation of its own ends suggests that its present curvature is not the one that was intended. The mere possibility of a bow's being so sharply [133] [Figure 58 appears here] [134] bent in a direction opposite to the normal one raises the question as to whether the Santa Cruz bows do not possess a certain degree of reflexiveness when they are first made, which, as a rule, is lost after a time on account of the relative softness of the wood, whereas this one specimen was perhaps soon unstrung, preserved its curvature, and was therefore subsequently strung the wrong way (1).

1. Concerning bows, cf. also Carteret, p. 351 (four feet, four inches long). D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe,

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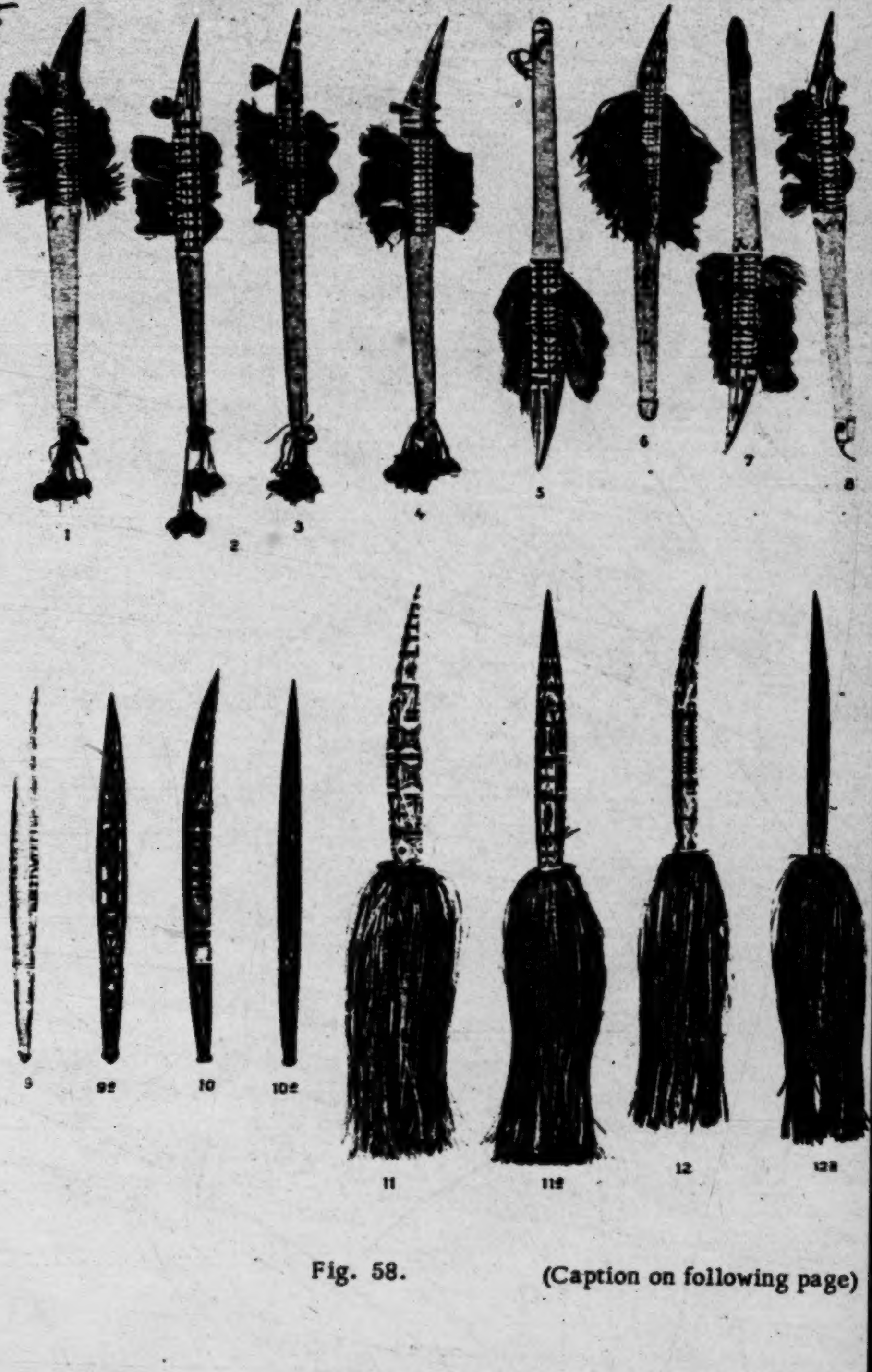
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Fig. 58. (Caption on following page)

[133 cont.]

Caption for Fig. 58.

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Dance clubs of wood, white with red and black painting; Nos. 1-8 with fiber bundles, Nos. 11 and 12 with strips of bast, Nos. 1-4 and 11-12 decorated with appended rattles of fruit rinds (R.-J.-M. 3998, 3997, 3995, 3996, 3994, 11356, 3999, 4001, 11669, 11367, 4000, and 4002; Joest Coll. Nos. 6 and 10. Donated by Weiler, No. 9 donated by Traine); 88-105 cm. long. Nos. 9a, 10a, 11a, and 12a are the reverse sides of Nos. 9-12.

[134 cont.]

p. 165; Atlas, Pl. 178, No. 14 (the bamboo character of the drawing is, of course, misleading), and Pl. 185. Coote, pp. 150, 158. Edge-Partington, I, 157, No. 1. F. de Tolna, p. 285. Frobenius, Bögen der Oceanier, pp. 26 and 28f.

411 The arrow (Fig. 62) 1 generally consists of a cane shaft notched at the rear end, a wooden middle piece, and the bone [727] point. On Vanikoro the last-named are allegedly made from the bones of slain enemies, whose corpses are placed in sea water to soak off the flesh (2). The bone point is either simple or

2. D'Urville, p. 217. According to p. 154, the bones of the unfortunate traveling companions on La Pérouse were made into arrowheads.

compound. In the latter case, it generally consists of a main part that makes up almost the entire length of the point, tapers

1 [cf. category 116, p. 123 -- Analyst.]

[134 cont.]
411 toward the front, and bulges slightly in the rear third, and of the
actual short point, an extremely sharp bone needle about five to
six centimeters long. Sometimes the main, bony section is also
compound. All the parts are carefully joined together and to
the wooden intermediate section, while the long notches at the
ends, shaped like a swallow tail, are fitted together and wrapped
[381] with fine cord. The whole thing is then coated with a red resin-
like substance like lacquer, so that it looks as though it were
381 made of one piece. The principal ingredient of this cement is
824 the pit of a nut-like fruit, probably Barringtonia, which is
scraped with a mussel shell; it is mixed with a little lime and
chewed areca nut, and the surface is finally rubbed with a nut,
probably also areca nut, which gives it the characteristic red
411 color (3). The arrows with the simple bone point differ from the
others only in that the principal part of the point is made of wood
and, along with the wooden intermediate part, is carved out of
one piece. Since, however, the point, like its bone counter-
part, is coated with the red cement, it is impossible to tell
which type the point belongs to if it is undamaged. The wooden
[531] intermediate sections are covered with various kinds of carvings,
some of which (Fig. 62, Nos. 30-40) undoubtedly are to be re-
garded as faded barbed-hook designs; the groups of alternate
barbed hooks are always black, whereas the rest of the ornamenta-
tion is patterned black, white, and red. Between the individual
[135] [Figs. 59, 60, and 61 appear here] parts of the ornamenta-
tion there are cord lashings that are secured with a cement sub-
stance, like the arrow points, probably to avoid splintering the
wooden part. [136] The cord lashing that secures the wooden
part in the shaft end is also smeared with cement. Rarely the
entire point is made of wood (Fig. 62, Nos. 1-6 (1). Labillardière

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3. Dillon, pp. 170, 227.

1. Dalrymple, p. 78. D'Urville, p. 217.

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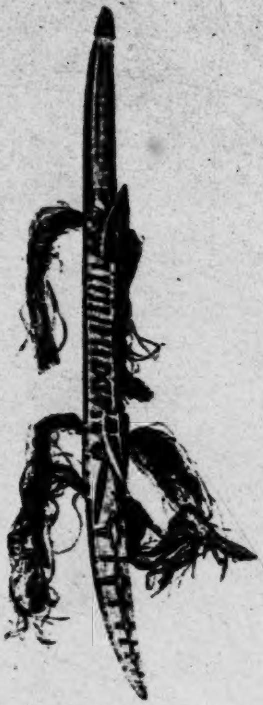
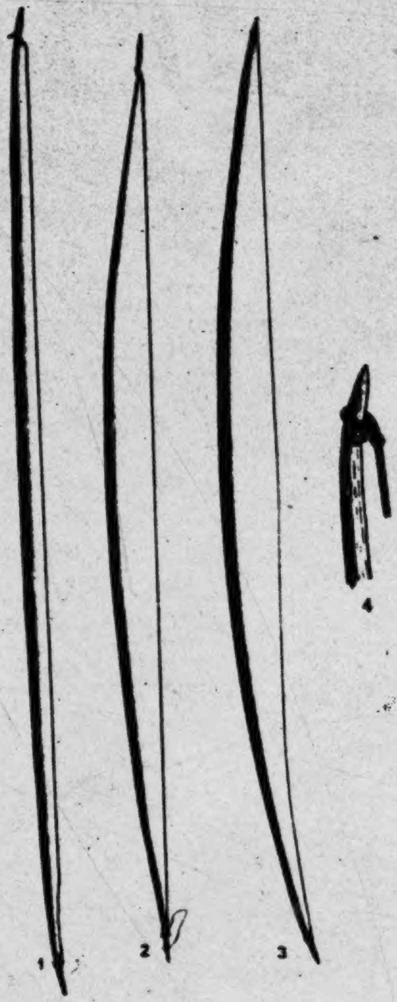


Fig. 59.



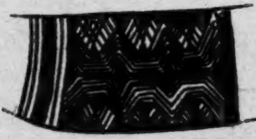


Fig. 60.

Fig. 61.

(Captions on following page)

[135 cont.]

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Captions for Figs. 59, 60, and 61.

Fig. 59. Dance club of deviant shape; semicircular cross-section with projecting base, which is on top in the illustration (Berlin VI 4548).

Fig. 60. Rare club-decoration (Berlin VI 16200, Thilenius Coll., South Bay; name of club, mba).

Fig. 61. Bows (R.-J.-M. 22194, 4289, and 4288, Oldman and Joest Coll.); 193, 182 1/2, and 187 cm. long. No. 1 curved slightly on the inner side, No. 3 curved as seen from outside, No. 2 curved wrong. No. 4 shows the shape of ends and the attachment of the cord. The lashing of the other fixed end of the cord is doubtful for all the specimens.

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[232]

[136 cont.] Labillardière mentions arrowheads of tortoise shell and ray spines (2). The

[114]

2. Labillardière, p. 259. Carteret, p. 359, mentions flint points, no doubt erroneously. Concerning the kind of arrows and their construction, cf. also: Dalrymple, p. 78; Sainson in D'Urville, p. 355; Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 365 f.; Coote, pp. 150, 158. The last named gives the length of the shaft as four to five feet; Carteret, p. 351, gives that of the entire arrow as four feet, four inches. Cf. also Edge-Partington, I, 157 and 158, Nos. 1 and 2 (157, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 represent rare forms, one of which has two small secondary points

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[136 cont.]

at the base of the tip); Schmeltz and Krause, Die Ethnogr.-Anthr. Abt. d. Mus. Godeffroy, p. 119. Worthless illustration in D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 178, No. 15.

deadliness of the arrows, which was always asserted by the natives and repeatedly experienced by European seamen, does not rest on the poisonous nature of the cement substance (3), as the inhabitants of Vanikoro maintained, but on the brittleness of the bone points, since the bone splinters which inevitably remain in the wound cause tetanus (4). The natives handle the arrowheads very carefully; on Ndeni they always carry them wrapped in

[257]

[164]

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3. Dillon, loc. cit. F. de Tolna, p. 285. According to Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 335, the wounds heal if one spits the chewed leaves of a vine, mera, on them.

4. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 371, D'Urville, p. 165, Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 265 f., already mention this. In addition, chiefly Codrington, The Melanesians, pp. 306 ff.; Joest in Baessler, p. 390. According to D'Urville, the natives maintain that the effect is fatal only for human beings, not animals, and even then not in the case of the arrows with wooden points (p. 217). Mendana in Dalrymple, p. 78, believes the arrows are poisoned, but not very dangerous.

[136 cont.]

411 palm leaves (5). The natives who dealt with D'Entrecasteaux
[432] always broke the points off the arrows that they sold; whether
this was done out of consideration for the buyers or in order to
use them again cannot, of course, be determined (6). Finally
it must be mentioned that on Santa Cruz, as on the northern
[171] Solomon Islands, arrows are made in bundles of ten, which are
similar in length, technique, and ornamentation (7). Dalrymple
maintains that some of the arrows were feathered, but this is
no longer done now (8).

5. Joest in Baessler, p. 390. On Vanikoro the arrows were said to be taboo (D'Urville, p. 165).

6. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 371. On Vanikoro they were very reluctant to sell the arrows; D'Urville, pp. 165, 182.

7. The Joest Collection has a considerable number of complete groups. Concerning the industrial manufacture, cf. for the time being, Foy,
[113] Führer durch das Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum [Guide to the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum], second edition, pp. 103, 107 f. A more complete publication on the subject by the same author is in prospect.

8. Dalrymple, p. 78.

[136 cont.]

The marksmanship of the natives is described as very good. Labillardière mentions a shot in the head at more than 45 meters (9).

9. Labillardière, p. 254. Joest in Baessler, p. 390 (Tagebuch, p. 48). F. de Tolna, p. 285. The force of the blow is apparent from Carteret's statement (p. 359) that an arrow penetrated the side of the boat and wounded a man sitting in the boat. Cf. also the Spanish reports that the arrows pierced the Spanish shields (Dalrymple, p. 85).

The [137] [Fig. 62 appears here] [138] technique of shooting, according to Joest, is as follows: the arrow is held to the left of the bow with the index finger, and the bowstring is drawn with the index finger and the middle finger, sometimes also with the fourth finger if it is very stiff (1). For protection against the

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 390.

very sharp impact of the recoiling bowstring, all the men on Ndeni wrap the left wrist with bark cloth or a spiral of rattan (2).

2. Joest in Baessler, p. 390 (and Tagebuch, p. 51). Dalrymple, p. 78.

Mendana mentions the use of stones as weapons, but apparently without the use of a sling (3).

3. Dalrymple, pp. 79, 85. Thilenius, Ethnogr. Ergebn. aus Melanesien, I, p. 54, mentions the sling as the sole weapon on Utupua.

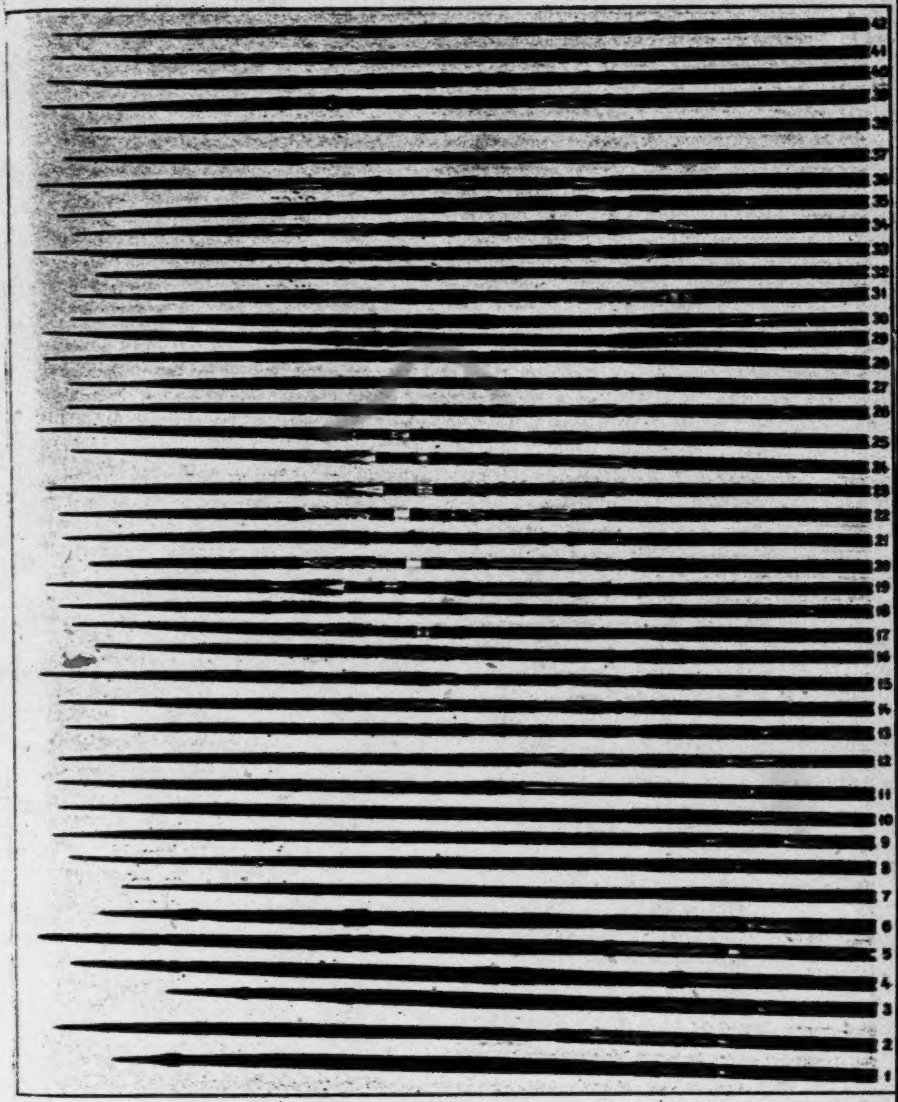
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Fig. 62. Arrows.

(Caption on following page)

[137 cont.]

Caption for Fig. 62.

411 Fig. 62. Arrows. Nos. 1-6 wooden points, Nos. 7-42 bone points (R.-J.-M. 3825, 3826, 3829, 3830, 3827, 3828, 3794, 11361, 3817, 3708, 3813, 21148, 3785, 3746, 3786, 21149, 3718, 21153, 3717, 3741, 11360, 3758, 3738, 3749, 3712, 3791, 3735, 21150, 3732, 3747, 3836, 21157, 11358, 3838, 21158, 3782, 11363, 21156, 21154, 3765, 3761, 3768; Joest Coll., 8, 21, 33, and 37, donated by Weiler, 12, 16, 18, 28, 32, 35, 38, and 39 Klaatsch Coll.); total length of arrows 110-122 cm., length of illustrated sections 57 1/2-69 cm. The shafts resemble those of the bird arrows in Fig. 30. Some, for example, 9, 10, and 30, show scraping of the knots of the tubes, colored black.

[138 cont.]

726 [171] In their way of fighting, the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz Islands differ essentially from all the other Melanesians who use the bow and arrow. Among all the others, war consists essentially of jungle-fighting from ambush; open conflict is avoided if possible, and bravery is a rare virtue. Now this very c[illegible]istic [152] is attributed to the Ndeni Islanders to a high degree. Seven natives engaged in battle against a Spanish troop, and only after six had been killed did the last one flee. They never lost courage in the face of Spanish fire, but sought to protect themselves [177] by copying the Spanish shields, which, along with the coats of mail, they soon recognized as the sole causes of the invulnerability of their opponents; they quickly learned to direct their well-aimed shots against the exposed parts of the Spaniards' bodies (4).

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4. Dalrymple, p. 83.

[138 cont.]
726 More recent authors also give evidence concerning the courage
[152] of the Santa Cruz Islanders, who were in the habit of shooting
721 their arrows in volleys (5). According to Mendana, the villages

5. Carteret, p. 351. Markham, p. 145.

[202] communicated at night by means of fire signals if danger
threatened; during the day boats traveled from place to place.
As the danger approached, all the members of the tribe brought
their possessions to the chief's village for safekeeping. Mendana
mentions that once 50 boats with hidden weapons assembled at
one place, apparently for a planned expedition against the
enemy (6). Shortly before the beginning of the battle, Markham

6. Dalrymple, p. 82.

reports, a warning cry sends the women into hiding in the bush.
A Homeric battle of words is the prelude to battle on Vanikoro.
726 During the fighting on Ndeni the opponents make as much noise
as possible, and each individual is in constant dance-like mo-
tion, which of course makes it considerably harder for the op-
727 ponent to hit him. In the battle described by Markham, which
lasted about half an hour, there were only two or three [139]
persons wounded, but from what has been said about the manner
of fighting and the courage of the natives, it can be assumed
that the battles are often bloodier (1). In Vanikoro the Teve

[114] 1. Markham, pp. 161 ff. D'Urville, pp. 159, 172; 354 (Sainson). Markham, p. 145, speaks of a war dance in Nukapu before any kind of hostilities were begun. The interpretation is doubtful, however.

people claimed that they killed nine men in a recent fight.
Mercy is not shown there during the fight; the wives and

[139 cont.]

727 children of the defeated are carried off, and there is evidence
of the relentless pursuit of victory in D'Urville's time when three
villages were abandoned by their inhabitants and fell into ruins.
Allegedly the victors confiscated the land, but it is not said
[567] whether they made use of it. Quiros speaks of slavery in
Taumako (2). The skulls of slain enemies were probably hung
in the bachelors' houses, at least on Vanikoro. According to
[266] the data that Quiros obtained in Taumako, cannibalism was not
726 practiced on Vanikoro (3). As a signal of peace, the waving of
a green bush is mentioned by Quiros for Taumako and by Markham
for Nukapu, while for Vanikoro Dillon mentions the throwing
of twigs into the water. D'Urville speaks twice of the waving
of white cloths, once toward Europeans; a European example
for this is perhaps not to be definitely excluded (4).

712 The fortifications of the inhabitants of the northern islands have already been mentioned (5). The natives of Taumako,

2. D'Urville, pp. 166, 190. Dalrymple, p. 131. Dillon, p. 170. Joest in Baessler, p. 379, denies that there is slavery on Ndeni.

3. Dillon, pp. 157, 232 (skulls of Europeans), 269. D'Urville, pp. 159, 217.

4. Dalrymple, p. 128. Dillon, p. 145. D'Urville, pp. 172, 522. Markham, p. 145.

5. Cf. pp. 37 and 49.

726 [139 cont.] The natives of Taumako, according to their own statements, use their large sea-going boats not only for purposes of trade, but also for distant expeditions of war, and that the inhabitants of the other islands are not averse to pursuing the profession of warfare by sea is shown by the huge number of arrows that they always carry along in their boats (6). In Vanikoro the members of the D'Urville expedition

6. Dalrymple, p. 127.

witnessed the very promising beginning of a sea battle, which, [728] however, was prematurely interrupted by the intervention of a chief (7).

7. D'Urville, pp. 172 f.

Society and the Family

614 The basis of social relations on Santa Cruz, as far as the main island is concerned, is a pronounced exogamous totemism. Joest learned the names of 12 totem groups (*nau*). Most of them [825] were of an animal nature: *kuli* = dog, *mbo* = pigeon, *kio* = chicken, furthermore *betila* = whale, *natu* = dolphin, *mbua* = shark, and three other [140] fish, *mbu*, *mbilla*, and *niŏda*. In [824] addition there were the following plant totems: *talao* = papaya, *maka*, and *kanalapiti*. In connection with this, the system of [601] kinship terms is classificatory. No one is permitted to marry a member of his totem group, no one may eat his totem. In the case of plant totems, cutting them down is also forbidden. A person whose totem is the dog may not give a dog any of his food (1). The husband must also respect the totem of his wife (2).

1. Joest in Baessler, pp. 381, 386 f.

2. Joest, *ibid.*, p. 383.

614 [140 cont.]
[753] If a person ignores the food taboo, his teeth will fall out, his
body will waste away, and he will die (3). Incest, that is,
[614] marital intercourse within the totem group, is punished by death
by shooting or at least destruction of the house (4). According
to Joest, the totem groups were not locally separated, but lived
intermingled with one another (5). In any case this applies to
only a part of the island. For other parts the localization of the
totem was attested, and all the more naturally since the actual
character of the institution was apparently not clear to the informant;
he states that the spirit of a locality "sometimes" forbids
the inhabitants to eat certain food. More detailed explanations,
however, show that a permanent institution is involved,
and family and village are expressly identified with it. Here,
[761] too, death or at least sores are mentioned as the consequences
of a violation. A kind of yam, *numabo*, a fish, *ape*, birds,
[824] breadfruit, Barringtonia fruit, and nuts are mentioned as totems.
The members of the coconut totem are forbidden to eat only the
young nut whose eye is still red (6).

611 Descent on Ndeni is agnatic; on Nufiloli the right of succession in the female line is said to predominate (7).

3. Joest, *ibid.*, p. 387.

4. Joest, *ibid.*, p. 382.

5. Joest, *ibid.*, p. 386; clearer in *Tagebuch*, p. 84.

6. O'Ferrall in *J.A.I.*, XXXIV, p. 224.

7. Joest in Baessler, p. 384.

[140 cont.]

614 Membership in a totem group is supposed to be expressed in the
[826] lines in the palm of the hand, in the teeth, and in the facial
[597] features (8). In case of adoption, which occurs frequently, the

8. Joest, ibid., pp. 382, 386.

children belong to the totem group of the adoptive father (9);

9. Joest, ibid., p. 384.

it is not clear, however, whether the adoption of children from other totem groups ever takes place.

608 A second form of artificial kinship is a kind of blood brotherhood, through the conclusion of which, according to Joest, complete family and totem participation comes about. This is
553 perhaps connected with the custom of [141] exchanging names
431 accompanied by gift exchange, which Mendana mentioned for Ndeni and Gaimard for Vanikoro (1).

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 382.
Dalrymple, p. 81. Gaimard in
D'Urville, p. 329 f.

584 Engagements often take place in early childhood, and, according to Joest, in the following manner. One evening the mother of the boy places two coconuts and some feather money in front of the house door of the one chosen, or rather her parents, whose acceptance or rejection decides the fate of the proposal (2).

2. Joest in Baessler, p. 381. Dillon,
p. 304, also mentions child betrothals
for Ndeni, p. 276 for Vanikoro.

According to Codrington, the father chooses the bride (3). A

3. Codrington, p. 239.

584 [141 cont.]
small initial payment makes the girl taboo, so that no other man
583 can buy her. In each case the final purchase of the woman is a
614 matter between the two kin groups [Sippen], that is, the totem
groups; not only the closest members, but all the male members
of the kin group demand their share of the purchase price, which
is always paid in feather money. It is therefore not rare that a
[584] betrothed couple must wait two years before they can marry be-
cause the kin group of the bridegroom is not yet able to pay the
584 purchase price. It seems that the bridegroom himself rarely takes
part in the negotiations; often he knows nothing about it at first.
Sometimes he is told that a girl has been chosen for him, and he
is admonished to avoid a certain house. He then guesses who his
chosen one is. Codrington mentions that often the bridegroom
[585] resists violently, even at the wedding, but he does not say whether
this is actually an aversion to the marriage or a ceremonial act.
We know nothing about the procedure of the wedding, but after-
591 wards the young husband takes his wife first to the house of his
father, until he builds his own home (4). In rarer cases no
836 engagement takes place, but the young man seduces a girl; in
583 that case, however, his kin group must pay the girl's kin group
595 whatever price is demanded (5). Polygamy depends upon the
ability to pay (6).

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4. Joest in Baessler, pp. 379, 381. Codrington, p. 239. O'Ferrall, pp. 223 f. According to F. de Tolna, Chez les Cannibales, p. 268, the people [583] [628] along the coast on Vanikoro buy wives from the people of the bush for a breast disk each.

5. Joest in Baessler, p. 383.

6. Dillon, p. 305, says that "persons

[141 cont.]

595 of rank" [cited in English] practice polygamy. In view of the marriage preliminaries described, however, [556] wealth is apparently the most important aspect of rank.

606 A marriage establishes a large number of restrictions in the intercourse of the kin groups related by marriage. The most strict, as among many peoples, are the regulations about the association of the mother-in-law with the son-in-law. They may not see each other or speak to each other; he is not permitted to mention her name, and vice versa. Even words in which the forbidden name occurs must be avoided. [142] If they should meet, the mother-in-law must step aside if she wants to avoid punishment (1). The prohibition affects the father-in-law only with respect to the mentioning of the name (2).

602 On the other hand, the prohibition against saying the name and looking applies to all those who shared in the purchase price, that is, all the members of the kin group that has become related by marriage. A violation of the regulation entitles the man to destroy part of the goods of the culprit. If a man and a 607 woman are involved for example, if brother-in-law and sister-in-law meet, the woman is obliged to turn her back or to cover her face. If she should not do this, her kin group would have to pay the man a fine (3).

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1. Joest in Baessler, p. 382.

2. O'Ferrall, p. 224.

3. Joest in Baessler, p. 382, and Tagebuch, p. 60 (nothing is said 000 in the original text of the journal as to whether the prohibition against

[142 cont.]

800 pronouncing the name extends to the spouses themselves). O'Ferrall, pp. 223 f.

These customs can be explained only by the local separation of the exogamous groups originally. Otherwise the difficulty of daily intercourse that they bring about would have made it impossible for them to develop. The same original separation of the clans would also explain why the woman apparently has
834 to cover her face in the presence of every man, since originally all the men of the locality would have belonged to the kin group of her husband (4). Besides that, however, the same effect is probably produced by the separation of the sexes, which is strictly observed in Santa Cruz, analogies to which are also
[551] found in other totemistic areas. No young man may speak the name of a girl or a woman (5). Men and women never work together or gather in one place; the mother and the wife and children of a man are the only exceptions. In Nufiloli men and women never leave the village together. In the morning the men go out first; after their return the women go to fetch water, and until they return the men stay at home (6). Dewar speaks

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4. Coote, p. 163. Joest in Baessler, p. 378.

5. Joest in Baessler, p. 381. To a certain extent, however, this could also be based on the above-mentioned custom of avoiding persons related by marriage.

6. Codrington, p. 233. According to Joest, _Tagebuch_, p. 48, the women of Ndeni were seldom seen.

[142 cont.]

of Ndeni were seldom seen.

593 Dewar speaks
513 of separate houses for women (7), and one of Codrington's informants told him that even young married people do not live together at first, but only meet secretly. This statement was denied by several Santa Cruz Islanders (8), although it is borne out by analogous [143] conditions in related cultures (1) and may therefore apply to part of the group. The fact is that on Ndeni even married men do not always sleep at home, but in the bachelors' houses or meeting houses (2).

7. Dewar, p. 248. In Vanikoro the two sexes sleep in the same huts, but somewhat separated: Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 332.

8. Codrington, p. 239, footnote 2. However, cf. F. de Tolna, p. 281.

1. For example, on the Admiralty Islands and among the Alfur west of Geelvink Bay: Thilenius, Ethnographische Ergebnisse aus Melanesien, II, p. 132; Moolenburgh in Tijdschr. v. h. Kon. Nederl. Aardrujksk. Genootsch., second series, XIX, p. 165.

2. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 48.

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[682] The woman, even after marriage, is protected by her kin group. If her husband kills her, he not only gets a sound beating, but must pay any amount demanded. If he escapes, the members of his kin group must do it (3).

3. Joest in Baessler, p. 379.

[143 cont.]

000 the members of his kin group must do it (3). The men on all the

3. Joest in Baessler, p. 379.

152 609 684 837 578 islands are unusually jealous and try to prevent any stranger from approaching the women. Joest asserts that death was the price the women had to pay for any kind of intercourse with Europeans, and the seducers had to pay heavy fines. Dillon tells of a duel on Vanikoro following a case of adultery, and both duelists were killed (4).

4. Dillon, p. 197. D'Urville, pp. 164, 183; 323 (Gaimard). Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 269. Dewar, p. 248. Joest in Baessler, pp. 378, 386.

841 Menstruating women may not sit with others. The moon is regarded as the cause of menstruation (5). If a woman becomes

5. Joest in Baessler, p. 383.

843 pregnant, one can tell by the swelling of her navel that she is carrying a boy, or, in the opposite case, a girl (6). Pregnant

6. Joest, ibid.

[285] women carry a small mat -- whether habitually is uncertain -- plaited out of pandanus strips, patterned with black stripes and with a finely plaited border, black edging, and cowrie decorations at the corners (7). If it is a first pregnancy, the man must

[113] 7. Etheridge in Record Austral. Mus., IV, 7, p. 304. (The specimen described is 10 1/4 inches square.)

[143 cont.]
843 distribute canary nuts or, if these are not available, arrange for
a feast with plenty of sharks to eat. During the entire duration
of a pregnancy he may not eat coconuts or canary nuts, yams,
mangoes, and certain kinds of fish, for this would harm his wife
845 and the child (8). If his wife dies in childbirth, he must not only
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pay the kin group of the wife the purchase money a second time,
because he is to blame for her death, but must also compensate
his own kin group for the death of the child, which would otherwise
have augmented the kin group, and for their help in the
burial of his wife (9).

[144] In case of twins, one child is killed immediately
after birth; it is either strangled, beaten to death, buried
842 alive, or thrown into the refuse pit (1). In general, children
[593] are welcomed; the birth of a child often establishes affection
between the parents for the first time. The fondness for children,
597 moreover, leads to numerous adoptions, which Joest, on
the other hand, also calls an act of courtesy and which are often
arranged even before birth. Joest goes so far as to maintain that
most persons do not know their actual parents. This means, at
any rate, that adoption signifies complete acceptance into the
[000] family of the adoptive parents (2). At birth certain ceremonies

8. Joest in Baessler, p. 383.

9. Joest, ibid., p. 379. O'Ferrall, p. 224.

1. Joest, ibid., p. 384; Tagebuch, pp. 64 and 78.

2. Joest, ibid., pp. 383, 386. According to F. de Tolna, pp. 281 f., principally children of the inhabitants

[144 cont.]

577

[847]

of the bush are bought by the coastal peoples, whereas the latter practice abortion among their own women (it is said that this is accomplished by eating certain leaves). The situation has undoubtedly not been properly described in the form given here.

851 At birth certain ceremonies
553 are observed, which are not described in greater detail. Soon afterward the baptism takes place: the kin group of the man
[262] gives a feast with sharks as food, at which one of the elders pours water over the feet of the child and gives it a name that is retained until marriage (3).

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[262]

3. Joest, ibid., p. 384; Tagebuch, pp. 65 and 78. The taboos associated with the name are not clear. Joest in Baessler, pp. 387f., maintains that no one may eat the animal after which he is named. In one case, a person was allegedly not permitted to utter his own name because the word "shark" occurred in it.

862 The children are suckled until the mother becomes pregnant again, often two to three years (4). In the very first

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 384.

852 years the septum of the nose is pierced and a small ring inserted.
[304] On this occasion, as later, following the making of holes in the rims of the ears, the father must always give a feast (5).

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5. Joest in Baessler, p. 377 (the wearing of several nose rings, of which Baessler

[144 cont.]

301 erroneously speaks, does not occur; the statement is based on a misunderstanding of Joest's account). Codrington, p. 232.

591 During the first years of his life, the boy lives in the house of his parents. After an unspecified time, he begins to stay in the bachelors' house during the day, but returns home at night, until one day he stays away entirely and then lives in the bachelors'
302 house altogether (6). At the age of eight or ten, he abandons

6. Codrington, pp. 231f. Concerning the life of the unmarried men in the bachelors' houses of Vanikoro, cf. Dillon, p. 249.

the childish hair style, which consists of a narrow sagittal comb bleached with lime, while the rest of the head is evenly shaved. Now this comb is shorn off and the hair is worn uniformly short (7).

7. Joest in Baessler, p. 377 (cf. above, pp. 8f.)

884 [291] The declaration of maturity, which is done by donning the apron -- prior to this the boy at most wears [145] a waistband -- depends on the ability of the father or the kin group to give a feast, at which a pig is slaughtered, and usually only comes about after the youth has already grown a beard (1). On Vanikoro

1. Joest in Baessler, pp. 375f.; Tagebuch, pp. 46, 57, 75. Codrington, p. 232.

291 000 children go naked until they are about ten years old (2). Joest,

2. Dillon, p. 276.

[145 cont.] Joest,

304 contrary to Dillon, says that circumcision is not customary on Ndeni (3).

3. Dillon, p. 314. Joest in Baessler, p. 378. On the basis of our present knowledge, local differences cannot be excluded with absolute certainty.

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684 On Ndeni premarital intercourse between the sexes is not practiced, according to Joest, but rather is punished by death, perhaps because originally, with the local organization, it was
548 identical with incest (4). On the other hand, prostitution is
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4. Joest in Baessler, p. 386; Tagebuch, p. 63.

associated with the life in the bachelors' houses and also in related areas of the culture. Three or four men buy a girl for feather money, usually a child, because children are still cheap, and, for the same reason, a child is chosen preferably from a small kin group because each relative demands a share of the purchase price. After she has reached maturity, the girl is used and provided for jointly by the buyers, as well as hired out
(431) in exchange for feather money, pigs, or coconuts. The proceeds are divided in proportion to the amount contributed toward the purchase price. The girl gets none of it, but she is well
[554] provided for, is the social equal of the other women, and even enjoys the privileges of living in the bachelors' house, which the other women may not enter. The buyers do not have the right to kill her; the entire village would avenge the murder. When the buyers are tired of the girl, they take her to another village and auction her off, which is always an important event for the populace. Eventual children belong to all the buyers

548 [145 cont.]
567 jointly in case the father cannot be ascertained. Boys are often killed; girls, as a rule, are again sold as prostitutes (5).

575 [171] Coote states that the club life of Santa Cruz seems to be very similar to that of the New Hebrides (6). In view of his superficial knowledge, he could only have inferred this from the life in the bachelors' houses. Nothing of the well-developed club life of the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides is reported for Santa Cruz. Nevertheless, masked dances and the accompanying secret societies do not seem entirely foreign to the group. At [535] any rate, a bark-cloth dance mask from Santa Cruz is [146] preserved in the ethnographic collection of the Geographisch-Ethnographischen Gesellschaft in Zurich (1), and a tradition of 773 Nukapu, one of the Reef Islands, tells of a woman who, during an attack by natives from Tongoa Island, disguised herself with coconut leaves to resemble a spirit and, using a sharp-edged triton shell, killed almost a hundred enemies, one by one, as they entered the spirit house (2).

574 609 [262] Foreign guests are received in the bachelors' house on Vanikoro and the Reef Islands, probably everywhere. On Vanikoro they are sometimes offered betel as a gesture of welcome, but above all they are served cooked fish, taro, coconuts, and bananas wrapped in leaves. The chief provided food for the guests, and Gaimard, as an Ariki, always received twice as

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5. Joest in Baessler, pp. 384 ff., 399.

6. Coote, p. 154.

1. Verbal communication from Director Foy.

2. O'Ferrall, p. 288.

574 [146 cont.]
609 much as his servant and the natives. In Nufiloli hot breadfruit
[212] and yams were served while the most respected natives sat around.
Coote was later also received in the chief's house and was again
571 served breadfruit there (3). On Taumako, Quiros mentions the embrace as a gesture of greeting. Joest, on Ndeni, mentions nose-rubbing, also on hand and foot; otherwise, according to him, the only greeting is a kind of grin upon meeting. Upon departure, the native at most says: "I am going now" (4).

763 When a man feels that his end is near, he divides his
[428] personal belongings so that a part goes to his son, a part to his
brother, and a part to other relatives (5). On the southern islands, Te Mami, Utupua, and Vanikoro, if death is slow in
coming, the dying person is taken into the spirit house in order
000 to hasten death (6). On the day of death, the members of the

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3. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 327f., 335ff., 343 (in Nama Gaimard slept in the chief's house, but this can scarcely be regarded as normal). Coote, p. 154.

4. Dalrymple, p. 128. Joest in Baessler, p. 392.

5. O'Ferrall, p. 223. According to Codrington, p. 63, the nephew usually inherits, more rarely the sons, but this probably applies at most to the Reef Islands where mother-right prevails.

6. O'Ferrall, p. 230.

765 [146 cont.] On the day of death, the members of the
household start fasting on Ndeni, that is to say, they do not eat
any cooked food, sometimes for a week, but sometimes for a
longer period. Every day they paint their faces and bodies with
soot; the widow covers her head with an old dirty cloth and is
not permitted to leave the house, where, with the others, she
begins the lament anew each day around noon. The surviving
[304] husband sometimes also submits to a tattoo of mourning. Until
764 the burial the divided feather money is hung on a beam near the
corpse. After two days at the earliest, the burial takes place
in a very deep grave in the house itself, at the place where death
came and after the corpse [147] has been wrapped in numerous
765 white tapa-mats (1). The feast for the dead is held on the fifth
765 day (2). Inland, the bones are later dug up again and made
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into arrowheads; the skull is kept in a chest inside the house
and food is offered to it as the representation of the spirit of the
dead (3). On Vanikoro, too, the bones, which are said to be
macerated in sea water, are used to make arrow points, and the
skulls are preserved in the spirit huts or in the dwellings. One
chief's skull was given a special shelter next to the spirit hut (4).

1. Codrington, pp. 263f. O'Ferrall, p. 223. Joest in Baessler, p. 377, 390. Cf. also Markham, p. 62; Dillon, p. 304. According to Burney, p. 161, the lament for Chief Malope lasted "many days" [cited in English].

2. Codrington, p. 263f.

3. Codrington, p. 264.

4. Dillon, p. 244. D'Urville, pp. 197, 217; 327, 334 (Gaimard). Lesson

765 769 [147 cont.] Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 267, 269. Festetics de Tolna, Chez les Cannibales, pp. 273f.

765 At the festivals for the dead, the men here appear in full regalia (5). The lament for a chief is renewed by the women for

5. D'Urville, p. 197.

587 eight days at sunrise and at bedtime (6). On Ndeni the widow

6. Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 333.

is taken as a wife by a relative, usually a brother of the deceased, and he must pay her kin group a new purchase price, which, however, is not as high as that paid by the first husband (7).

7. O'Ferrall, p. 223.

Religious Matters; Games, Music

775 [776] The supernatural world of the Santa Cruz Islanders contains spirits of two different kinds and ranks. With some justification the one kind can be called gods, while the other, larger class, which concerns the natives even in the ordinary events of life, consists of the spirits of the deceased. According to the beliefs of the tribe to which Codrington's informants belonged (8),

8. Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 264.

the souls after death assemble in a place called Natepapa and then go into the volcano Tinakula ("Temami"), where they are cremated and revived. Moreover, they have their actual abode there, although they are capable of making their old home

[147 cont.]

775 unsafe and may be seen, especially on damp nights, as fiery, or at least with fire in their armpits. The belief of the Reef Islanders rests on similar ideas of destruction and revitalization, despite superficial differences (9). According to it, the soul first goes

9. O'Ferrall in J.A.I., XXXIV (1904), p. 229. Joest in Baessler, p. 389, categorically denies the existence of any kind of ideas about the transmigration of souls -- a very vague conception.

to a place [148] where other spirits put it in the center and dance around it, then drop it in a deep waterhole where it is devoured by a large fish. The blood that spurts out of the fish revitalizes it, however, and it goes to another place. Persons who have fallen in battle become winged spirits, but other do not (1).

1. See footnote 9 above.

769 On Ndeni the fear of ghosts is very pronounced; Joest reports that the natives are very afraid of the dark and that when they covered the windows of his house with mats they sang loudly, perhaps to give themselves courage, perhaps to drive away the
[828] spirits. Nightmares are attributed to an evil spirit that sits on one's chest (2).

2. Joest in Baessler, pp. 388f.

In the interior of the main island and on Vanikoro (3),

3. Cf. p. 141.

the exhuming and preservation of the skulls points to a general worship of the dead. In the coastal regions of Ndeni and on the
[778] Reef Islands only the souls of esteemed persons are worshiped

[148 cont.]
719 as duka, and a cult is dedicated to them. This worship is con-
778 tinued for some time, but only if the spirit has proved by means
of cures, favorable harvests, and the like that it is malete, that
is, possesses special power. Probably it is only after such mani-
festations of power, or in the case of particularly influential
personalities soon after death, that the duka post is erected in the
men's house. It is made from a certain tree, with which the
spirit apparently is thought to have a special connection. The
post is carved with decorations, its completion is announced by
[534] blowing the triton horn, and a great dance celebration is held,
[535] A pig is slaughtered, and the filets, along with other food, are
[782] sacrificed, that is to say, laid in front of the post, but soon re-
moved and eaten. During the celebration, which lasts several
days, prayers for wealth, good harvests, etc. are addressed to
the spirit. On the last day, leaves of the tree from which the
[755] post was made are placed in the water, on the next morning,
even before sunrise, another meeting takes place, and the water
is then regarded as curative. Similar celebrations take place when
the post is renewed. This does not happen very often, however,
for frequently an old duka is neglected or forgotten with the ad-
vent of a new one imbued with much malete (4).

4. Codrington, p. 139. O'Ferrall, pp. 228f.

756 Every duka vouchsafes a man its special relations and support through the intercession of which one can influence the spirit for good or evil. Such a sorcerer is called meduka. As a rule he is a member of the family of the deceased, but [149] this is definitely confirmed in only one particular instance, that is, if a young child dies, the father becomes its meduka and announces his new position to the people by appearing in public in the company of another meduka (1). One of the principal functions of

1. Codrington, pp. 196, 201. O'Ferrall, pp. 223ff. Cf. also Joest in Baessler, p. 388.

[*149 cont.*]
756 the *meduka*, as everywhere, is the healing of sickness, which
754 here, too, is in large part traced back to sorcery. If one wishes
to kill someone, he tries to obtain a bit of leftover food, an
article of clothing, some hair, or the like from him, which he
then takes to the spirit hut and casts a spell upon it; sometimes
it is tossed into the sea or buried. Belief in this sorcery exists
755 in all parts of the group. If a *meduka* is summoned to a sick
person, he waits until the spirit takes possession of him, which
is apparently manifested by convulsive movements, and then
announces the cause of the illness and its remedy. Sometimes
the cure consists of a bitter drink squeezed out of certain leaves,
or of the application of certain herbs on the painful spot. It
is not the natural properties of the herbs that brings about the
[778] cure, however, but the *malete* inherent in them. In other cases
[782] the doctor prescribes the sacrifice of a pig that is immediately
consumed communally in the spirit house amidst "prayers."
The *meduka* places a small piece in front of the spirit-post and
asks for the help of the *duka* for the patient. This piece, too,
is then eaten; only small boys may not eat any of it. Often
a sick person has "been shot" by a spirit; then the shot of the
duka, a few small pebbles or a splinter of wood, must be removed
from the body. Edge-Partington gives an illustration of
a spirit-figure, *taluna*, which is supposed to protect the sick
from death. If the patient dies despite the treatment, a spirit
with greater *malete* is always involved, over which the *meduka*
has no influence, or the helpful spirit is asleep. After a successful
[782] cure, a pig is sacrificed, and the helpful *duka* again
receives a small piece, that is, its spiritual part, for the
piece itself is always consumed by the participants soon after
756 the sacrifice is offered. The *meduka* receives remuneration
for his help (2).

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2. Joest, *ibid*., p. 377. Codrington, pp. 196f. O'Ferrall, pp. 223, 226, 230. Edge-Partington, I, 163, No. 1.

[149 cont.]

756 [787] Concerning the behavior of the sorcerer on other occasions, cf. Dillon, p. 303, where a "priest" on board the ship sings, shouts, and laughs in a state of convulsi[illegible] and apparently talks with a spirit.

789 The second duty of the sorcerer, likewise worldwide, is that of weather-maker. On journeys by boat, the meduka of Santa Cruz takes his duka post with him and sets it up in the
[778] small hut of the platform. A bird-figure painted red, white, and black is also taken on board for protection against bad weather. On land charred [150] wood is sometimes laid in hollow trees to make the sun shine. Other meduka can cause a drought by not washing and not working so that they will not perspire, for their duka has power over the sun and the rain. If one brings such a meduka money and food and he grants the request, he goes into the spirit house and sprinkles water over the duka post or posts there in order to make it rain again. In
[778] order to stir up the wind, the sorcerer swings a twig of the tree
[533] imbued with the malete concerned. Each kind of sorcery has a certain magical song that goes with it (1).

1. Codrington, p. 201. O'Ferrall, p. 225. Edge-Partington, I, 163, No. 8 (bird-figure as boat's amulet).
[113] Foy, Arch. f. Religionswiss., X, p. 513, regards the rain-makers as representatives of the god of heaven.

789 Although there is no definite evidence, it is undoubtedly
241 the case that the meduka takes part in the ceremonies that are supposed to promote the growth of the various food plants and in the harvest festivals, in other words, in the vegetation magic. The first takes place on Ndeni in the bush at a place for festivities when the plots have been cleared and the plants
[282] started. Besides the necessary food, feather money and tapa are displayed, or rather "sacrificed."

[150 cont.]

789 are displayed, or rather "sacrificed." Men, women, and chil-
241 dren take part in the celebration,[1] and it is believed that the
[852] more children are present, the better the harvest will be. When the breadfruit tree has begun to bear, one may not light a fire near it or throw a stone at it (2). On the Reef Islands, a celebra-

2. O'Ferrall, p. 224.

tion, a "sacred meal," is held in the bush about a month before the fruit is ripe. As the principal ceremony, after the breadfruit has been cooked, a man climbs a palm tree and throws down a fruit while the crowd cries: "This is the breadfruit of the whole land." Throughout the entire ceremony, the spirit is thanked for the harvest. Similar ceremonies are repeated upon the ripening of the other fruits used for food (3). It is

3. O'Ferrall, p. 230. On the island of La Guerta the Spaniards found large supplies of roasted taro and 120 dead pigs, apparently the provisions for a large feast: Figueroa in Dalrymple, p. 196.

769 said that certain spirits have power over the growth of food plants,
241 individually or collectively (4). Taken from the standpoint of

4. O'Ferrall, ibid., and p. 224.

the duka conception as a whole -- insofar as the duka is involved and not a god of vegetation (5) -- this does not mean

5. Cf. Foy, loc. cit.

that each spirit has its special province to begin with, but rather he must first show through practice the things over which his malete extends, whether it "is good" for sickness, yams,

[1] [i.e. - CEREMONIES TO INCREASE FOOD SUPPLY. — ANALYST]

[150 cont.]

769 241 breadfruit, successful [151] voyages, or other things (1). Totem affiliation, however, may also ~~be~~ decisive.

778 [184] On one of the Reef Islands, Temami, as well as on the southern islands Utupua and Vanikoro, there are no duka posts, but there are spirit huts, which in part are identical with the meeting houses. In some of them stones are erected as representations of the spirits which there are called atua, the Polynesian designation. On Vanikoro they also contain triton shells and the skulls of the deceased. The atua appears as an animal, for example, a crab, ant, or fish (2). On Ndeni, too, there are sacred stones, although they are very rare. Codrington mentions that betel nuts are placed on such sacred stones for the spirits (3). The one called kio (bird) is mentioned in particular; when an area is planted and at harvest time, he is offered feather money and food, and among them there is always a bird, presumably so that birds will not devastate the planting. Another stone, metabo, which resembles a huge fruit and has four smaller ones lying near it, is supposed to have come from the volcano Temami (Tinakula) and is therefore regarded as having great magical power (4). It appears

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1. Cf. related conceptions on the Banks Islands in Codrington, pp. 119ff., 191ff.

2. O'Ferrall, p. 230. D'Urville, pp. 178f; 356 (Sainson); 326ff, 334, 344 (Gaimard). Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 267f. According to Gaimard, p. 327, taro in particular seems to be sacrificed.

3. Codrington, pp. 139, 180.

778 171 [151 cont.]

4. O'Ferrall, p. 226.

It appears that genetically these Ndeni stones have nothing to do with those of Vanikoro, for, while the latter seem to be representations of the god or atua in the Polynesian manner, those of Ndeni have the character of the totem stones of central Australia and Torres Strait; the cult dedicated to them shows analogies to the initichiuma ceremonies (5).

5. Cf. Spencer and Gillen, The Native Tribes of Central Australia, pp. 173ff. Report of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, V, pp. 233ff.

769 778 Finally, a strong indication of the cult of the dead is unmistakable in the use of human figures with magical power. We have already spoken of the taluna against sickness (6).

6. Page 145.

778 789 241 Joest speaks of figures with a body like a Worcestershire-sauce bottle, with three genuine locks of hair and decorated with ornaments, which the women carry on their backs like swaddled babies when they go to work in the planting and which are supposed to bring about a good yam harvest. The ornaments belong to the various owners of the yam plantings, and at harvest time each received an amount from the proceeds in proportion to his contribution toward decking out the figure (7). Joest was able

7. Joest in Baessler, p. 389. (Baessler is mistaken in not only giving the figure the shape of a bottle, but having it consist of one.)

778 to buy the figure of another spirit, menata, whose special [152] function was to provide for the well-being of the women (Fig. 63). It shows a man with a typical mane of hair and tattooing, otherwise quite similar to the taluna just mentioned, and Joest

[152 cont.]

778 explicitly states that it is not a god, but the image of an ancestor and is very common (1). Tapa figures representing a spirit
[789] of the same name in coitus with a woman are set up as fertility
magic in the coconut plantings or on posts around the island (2).

776 When D'Urville asked the chief of Maneve who showed
him the two atua he worshiped whether there were a still mightier
one, [Fig. 63 appears here] he pointed out to him the peak of
the principal mountain of the island as the seat of the supreme
spirit, to whom, however, no cult was dedicated apparently and
who did not belong to the category of spirits of the dead (3). The
figures that we can designate as gods are also found on the
northern islands. On the principal island, Ndeni, as well as on
the Reef Islands, Lata is worshiped as the creator of the world
[782] and of human beings. In cases of great danger at sea he is addressed, along with the duka, as a helper, and food is offered
[789] him. Another figure, Tinota or Sinota, on whose posts water
is sprinkled to produce rain, is described as an old duka, but
shows his affiliation with the higher category of gods through
[174] his relationship with Lata. Moreover, both show their Polynesian
origin by the myth in which that relationship is mentioned and
773 which is closely related to certain Maui myths. Sinota twice
destroys a boat that Lata built for himself, and Lata twice restores it through magic. The second time, however, a splinter
is lacking, which has fallen into Sinota's bag and betrays him
as the culprit. Moreover, his assertion that the canoe belongs
to him proves to be false, since he is unable to say the

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1. Joest in Baessler, p. 389;
Tagebuch, p. 77.

2. Edge-Partington, III, 65, No. 5.

3. D'Urville, pp. 178f.

[152 cont.]

773 incantation. Lata then builds a second boat, which the men of the village are unable to move from the spot because it is so heavy, but which moves by itself from the bush to the village when Lata sings his magic song. Sinota cannot do that either. Finally Lata plays a trick on his rival by tying hibiscus fiber over the cords of coconut fiber with which he has lashed together the parts of his canoe, and convincing Sinota that one [153] must use cords of hibiscus fiber for binding the parts of the boat. Then on his journey, when he has no more food, he makes a leftover nut bear fruit; on a line that has been tossed out a rat comes on 776 782 board with a pouch from which water gushes forth (1). -- A god who lives in [778] [304] [532] heaven, Tangiteala, from Taumako, is even more clearly shown to be a Polynesian divinity since in prayers he is addressed as Tangaloa. Offerings are made to him shortly before sunrise, and at the same time a triton horn is blown from a tree. In offering a sacrifice or a prayer to him no one may carry bows and arrows; the god would [821] kill him. Heavy thunderstorms are a sign of his wrath; the occupants of boats that have been driven off course pray to him for favorable winds, and, after a safe landing, offer him a suckling pig, and the offerer sprinkles the milk of an unripe coconut on

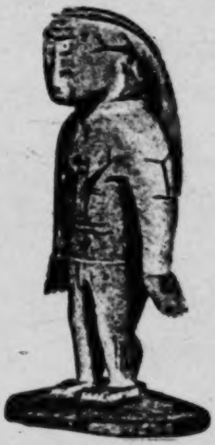

Fig. 63.
Spirit figure of wood, white with black painting (menata, R.-J.-M. 4004, Joest Coll.); 27 1/2 cm. high.

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1. O'Ferrall, pp. 227f. Codrington, pp. 167, 201.

[153 cont.]

776 tree leaves (2).

[782]

2. O'Ferrall, pp. 229, 230. Cf. Foy, Arch. f. Religionswiss., X, p. 513. In Dalrymple, p. 158, there is a story told by a Sikaiana man on Taumako about a devil Terua who speaks to human beings out of a piece of wood, often touches their chests with something cold, and prophesied the arrival of the Spaniards, but it is uncertain whether the story refers to Taumako or Sikaiana. I suspect the latter. Terua is probably identical with Taaroa.

773 A version of the twin myth is also native to Taumako. The twins are conceived by two lizards who have slipped into the mother's stomach, and when they are grown, they kill two man-eating monsters, a man Tepkakhola and a pig Ulaka. Other myths tell about the sun and moon, which in former times traveled together. When the sun noticed that their combined rays dried up the earth, it contrived by a ruse to have the moon fall into a swamp, and while it was washing itself, the sun hastened on a considerable distance. Since the moon wished to overtake the sun, it could not finish washing itself, hence the spots on the moon. Another story that is probably a faded moon-myth is about a man who in a canoe escapes from his father who has a hundred wives, is recued, half-starved, by a tree, and is then taken up to the heavens by the stars. He cuts the children out of the wombs of his fathers' wives and lets them collect money for themselves. Finally, he is led back home by the stars and kills his father. Other myths of the Reef Islands have to do with the origin of the volcanic island Tinakula, which, according to one version, was originally a man, but

[153 cont.]

773 according to another, a piece of the main island. The stones which the volcano ejects supposedly always go back in again and are hurled out anew (3).

3. O'Ferrall, pp. 224, 225, 228, 230ff.

775 The mythological position of the spirits that were associ-
776 ated with the chief Natei and made him rich and powerful is uncertain. They [154] dwelt in the interior of Ndeni, and it is questionable whether we are dealing with spirits of the dead or
[609] other mythological beings (1). White people were formerly regarded as spirits; when a European ship approached, no one dared speak aloud, and sick persons stayed far from the shore so that the Whites could not see them and cast a spell on them (2).

1. Codrington, p. 167.

2. O'Ferrall, p. 225. Joest in Baessler, p. 388.

778 Edge-Partington shows illustrations of amulets and one that was worn like a finger ring, which, according to him, contains the teeth of famous warriors in the little tapa bundles and helped the wearer make good bow-shots, as well as a tusk and stones in the form of sling-stones, which are added to the packets of feather money and are said to be more highly prized than the money itself; their actual function has not been determined (3).

3. Edge-Partington, I, 158, No. 3; 163, Nos. 5-7.

535 We have already spoken of traces of the presence of masks (4). Other dances are performed by men and women

4. Cf. p. 139.

[154 cont.]

535 jointly, but the women must stoop. One of the principal effects of the dance is the rhythmic stamping with the feet (5). On Ndeni, according to Codrington, every man of standing -- probably the chiefs -- has a dance area surrounded by blocks of coral close to his house, and the Spanish accounts mention areas fenced [533] in with rattan beside the bachelors' houses (6). A dance song set down by Gaimard is apparently very erotic (7). According to Joest, the club-dances, in which the well-known painted clubs are carried (Figs. 58 and 59), were rare, but they are not described in greater detail (8). Edge-Partington illustrates a piece of bamboo dance equipment that resembles the clubs; it is decorated with Coix chains and, like the clubs, with a fiber appendage (9). A peculiar custom, which, however, has analogies in other places in Melanesia, is the annual whip-dance

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5. Joest in Baessler, p. 397.
Codrington, p. 333.

6. Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 327.
Codrington, p. 333. Page 36 above.

7. D'Urville, p. 332.

8. Joest in Baessler, p. 397. The fact that a comparatively large number of travelers who visited Santa Cruz mention these very clubs among the objects offered to them for sale does not argue for their rarity. Cf. p. 112.

9. Edge-Partington, II, 87, No. 1.

[154 cont.]

525 festival, which Carteret saw on the Reef Islands. The men dance in a circle and, with whips about two meters long ("as though made of green grass") and handles half as long, [155] beat their backs and thighs until they bleed. Here, too, [Fig. 64 appears here] as in the Tangaloa cult, bows and arrows are left at home (1).

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 396. Carteret, p. 359.

521 [171] As for nonreligious games, there is first of all the sport of surf-riding on boards two meters long and one meter wide and bent upward slightly in front, but not toward land, as in Hawaii, but in the opposite direction. A game which is like-
524 wise played by adults consists of filling a halved coconut shell with sand, placing a burning canary nut on it, and then making the shell float on the surf without letting the candle go out. Also, snapping round pebbles into small pits is a pastime of adults (2). The game of "taking away," which Joest says was

2. Joest in Baessler, p. 396.

introduced only a few years ago, was mentioned by Coote more than a decade and a half earlier (3). As for children's toys,

3. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 83. Coote, p. 166.

we should perhaps mention the boat models, the purpose of which, however, is not definitely known; the larger ones on Nufiloli could even be boats used by children, according to Coote (4). On Vanikoro Gaimard mentions the child's game

4. Coote, p. 155. R.-J.-Museum, No. 17854.

[155 cont.]

524 of hoops (?) and rope-pulling in which a flexible twig (probably a liana) serves as a rope (5). Edge-Partington shows a picture

5. Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 335.

of a toy, made of a folded strip of palm leaf, and a miniature fan, which is interpreted as a present for chiefs' children and probably is also a toy (6).

6. Edge-Partington, III, 65, No. 1, and I, 166, No. 10.

534 There seem to be very few musical instruments on the island group. The mention of the sounding rod in Dalrymple (7) is indisputable,

7. Dalrymple, p. 80.

whereas the naming of drums (8) is doubtful;

8. Ibid. and Burney, p. 153.

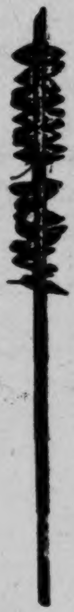

Fig. 64. Rattle of seed pods (leúa, Berlin VI 16184, Thilenius Coll.; 62 cm. long.

Codrington says that they seem to be missing (9). Thilenius showed

9. Codrington, p. 336. The jew's-harp, according to Joest, Tagebuch, p. 83, is unknown. The stringed instrument illustrated in Balfour, Natural History of the Musical Bow, p. 79, comes from the New Hebrides, as he himself suspected, namely, from

1: Graebner--157 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[155 cont.]

534 Espiritu Santo: Edge-Partington, III, 60, No. 6. Similarly, the Panpipe, VI 16413 of the Berlin Museum, does not come from Santa Cruz, but from the central Solomons, perhaps Florida.

a rattle of bean-like seeds wedged between two sticks (Fig. 64) (10).

10. Cf. p. 208 concerning the possibility of recent spread.

[156] Plastic Art

532 The plastic art of the Santa Cruz Islanders is not on a high artistic level. Only in part and within certain limits is a rigid stylization of the human figure (Fig. 63) -- most perfectly in the faces on the dance clubs (Figs. 58 and 59) -- and of animal figures on bowls and headrests (Figs. 25, 28, and 29) accomplished, without, on the other hand, any real talent for naturalistic representation (1) being shown. [Fig. 65 appears

1. Cf. Fig. 25.

here.] Even the purely decorative plastic art, the artistic shaping of implements, etc., only in rare cases is at the high level of achievement found elsewhere in the South Seas, for example, in the case of the headrest in Figure 28, No. 4, on which the design is apparently a non-essential addition. Even less may we expect free artistic activity dissociated from utilitarian purpose, with the exception of religious representations. The only object that might possibly belong here is the cuttlebone carved in the shape of a fish (Fig. 65), but in this case, too, a definite religious purpose cannot be excluded.

In two-dimensional art, too, the natives of the group have practically no talent for color. Only comparatively rarely is red used; they are usually satisfied with a black drawing on a white or natural-colored background. Technically, the combination of carving and coloring is almost completely absent (2).

531 2. It occurs only on arrows. Otherwise, the oars show carved decoration

[156 cont.]

531 and most of the other implements painted decoration.

The naturalistic-figure element is even less developed here than [304] in the plastic art: fish and lizards in tattooing (3), as well as in the wooden figures (Fig. 63); fish (Figs. 25, No. 4, 41, and [532] 58) and very rarely birds, for example, on lime boxes (Fig. 30,[1] No. 5) and money-appendages (4), apparently cocks, and frigate birds on breast disks (Fig. 8), as well as the pairs of legs on oars, which are surely a secondary development (Fig. 41), in the decoration of implements. With this the repertoire is exhausted.

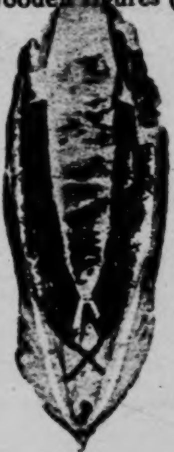

Fig. 65. Carving in the shape of a fish, cut in cuttlebone, painted black and red (Berlin VI 16195, Thilenius Coll.), Graciosa Bay; 25 cm. long.

The aesthetic feeling of the natives has undoubtedly found purest expression in the so-called geometric ornamentation. In this the ornamentation on bark cloth stands lowest artistically, for which they are satisfied with a simple rhythmical space-filling pattern [157] (Fig. 44) and thus seem to confirm the report of the deficient artistic productivity of the female sex. On the other hand, the woven materials show tasteful rows of triangular

3. Cf. p. 32.

4. Edge-Partington, I, 163, No. 2.

[1] [The author apparently means Fig. 31--Analyst.]

[157 cont.]

531 and rhomboid designs (Figs. 14 and 53ff.), which also form the principal element of the designs on implements, here often being transformed into the previously mentioned fish designs (Figs. 28, No. 4, 41f., 58f.). In this a grouping of the designs in stripes or bands, each with two rows of trapezoidal or, more rarely, semicircular figures facing each other, strongly stands out (also Fig. 60) (1). Less common is a circular or disk-shaped

1. Edge-Partington, I, 165, No. 3.

arrangement (Figs. 42, No. 2, and 58, Nos. 4 and 9). In the tortoise shell layer of the breast disks (Fig. 8), the triangular and rhomboid forms are also visible, and even the frigate bird represented on it shows a tendency to be adapted to those forms. There would be no point in listing all the individual designs separately, since they are sufficiently shown in the illustrations. It should be pointed out, however, that certain ornaments are limited to certain implements, such as oars, arrows, and clubs, and sometimes even to certain parts of the implements; I refer to the tips and the handle projections of the clubs on which characteristic single designs occur with more or less regularity (2)

2. Cf. Fig. 58, Nos. 1, 3, and 4, 11 and 12; 1-3, 7 and 8. In any case, cf. Fig. 28, No. 4.

and otherwise are scarcely found in Santa Cruz ornamentation, 121 as far as I know. It would, of course, be wrong to conclude from this that these decorations have a special meaning or to interpret them on these grounds merely as modified figurative representations. This is possible, but they could also have been crowded out of more general use by the development of a predominant decorative style and their life prolonged to a certain extent as "survivals" [cited in English] at the places that are less suitable for the predominant forms of ornamentation.

There is another point of view that has heretofore been

[157 cont.]

121/ far too little considered in the interpretation of peculiar ornamentation that is apparently alien in style. This is borrowing, the migration of designs, which then to a certain extent become adapted to the style of their new home, yet often lead a certain independent existence there. And to be sure such designs often cling to the implements with which they have migrated. For
53/ Santa Cruz this point of view cannot be applied directly to the
171/ clubs, at least for the present, since the only known form of club closely related to it (3) is undecorated. The situation is perhaps

3. Cf. p. 175.

different in the case of the arrows, certainly with regard to the boxes for betel lime; the designs of which (Fig. 31) [158] show similarities in part with those on the same implements from southern Bougainville and environs and in part with those from
177 Isabel (1). And it is certain that our group learned the use of

1. Cf. Ribbe, Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln [Two Years among the Cannibals of the Solomon Islands], pp. 49, 50; better material in the Berlin Museum. Also Edge-Partington, I, 156, No. 5, and 161, No. 3, which actually come from the central Solomons. In the arrows, too, there are certain similarities between Santa Cruz and Bougainville in details of the ornamentation which should not be overlooked.

121 betel from the Solomons (2). We are just beginning to learn

2. Cf. p. 182.

something about all these questions of the migration and transformation of art forms. We shall progress further after we have

[158 cont.]

121 worked out the characteristics and trends of culture history in general, with which those of the history of art must essentially coincide. The following is intended as a contribution to this task, and it will be seen that even now it actually brings certain problems in the history of style closer to solution.

Culture History

114 In an earlier investigation I came to the conclusion that the cultural conditions of southern New Ireland have not changed essentially since they were described by Le Maire and Schouten (3).

3. Stephan and Graebner, Neu-Mecklenburg, pp. 1f.

175 178 The first reports about Santa Cruz after the journeys of Mendana and Quiros in 1595 and 1606 go back somewhat beyond that information, but here, too, there is essentially the same situation. The cultural picture of Santa Cruz, at least externally, as it was described in those old accounts and in the most recent ones, is essentially the same as today. To mention only one of the apparently most recent cultural items, Quiros already speaks of the loom (4). Even at that time the language betrays Polynesian influences, and the languages and somatic types seem to have had approximately the same distribution as today (5). The use of betel, as well as that of bows and arrows, is clearly evident from Melanesian connections, and the construction of the arrows is apparently the same as it is today (6). Clothing and ornaments

4. Cf. pp. 94 and 96.

5. See pp. 2f. (Cf. the words for chief: "Taurike" and "Taliken," pp. 107 and 109.)

[158 cont.]

175 178 likewise do not seem to have changed (7). Even the peculiar shape of the sail was already noted by the Spaniards (8). In only a very few cases can a modification of the cultural conditions be seen: the power of the chief seems to be less evident today on the principal island Ndeni than it was 300 years ago; the double boats have [159] disappeared, along with the feathered arrows; finally, the circular hut which predominated in Mendana's day has been almost entirely replaced by the gable-roofed hut, at least on Ndeni (1). In other words, there have 121 been few radical changes. The culture history of the Santa Cruz islands was enacted in the main before the arrival of the Europeans. It therefore cannot be studied from written sources, but solely from an analysis of the culture itself and its connections with other cultural complexes of the South Seas.

For such a cultural-historical analysis Santa Cruz can be set up as a kind of paradigm on account of the comparative clarity of its connections, which primarily rests on the simplicity of its oldest components; for the period prior to the ×[174] Malayo-Polynesian migration we are dealing essentially with only a basic stratum and a period of secondary and not very far-reaching influences of more recent Melanesian cultures on the group (2). This rare simplicity of conditions makes it

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6. Cf. pp. 60 and 117.

7. Cf. pp. 8f.

8. See p. 74.

1. Cf. pp. 109, 66, 117, 35f.

2. However, cf. also p. 189.

[159 cont.]

121 unnecessary to follow the cultural processes backward step by step, as one is usually forced to do, and thus gradually, by a kind of subtraction, peel off the older cultural complexes. On the basis of some preliminary studies that are available (3), I can immediately go to the heart of the matter and treat the cultural epochs in their chronological sequence.

x 174 The basic layer of Santa Cruz culture is evidently that
complex which, as in the rest of Melanesia, goes with the social
system of exogamous patriarchal-totemistic local groups. The
[184] system has been preserved in absolute purity on Santa Cruz only
in individual areas; in others the local character, on Nufiloli the
patriarchy, seems to have disappeared (4). The same is true of
x 171 the rest of Melanesia where the pure form is verified only for
the islands of the Torres Strait and the neighboring parts of New
Guinea, as well as along Collingwood Bay, on New Hanover
and the adjacent areas of New Ireland, and on Kunie (Isle of
Pines) and the Fiji Islands (5). The totemistic character of the

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[113] 3. F. Graebner, "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Oceanien [Culture Circles and Culture Layers in Oceania]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XXXVII (1905), pp. 28 ff. Stephan and Graebner, Neu-Mecklenburg, pp. 158 ff.

4. Cf. p. 128 where only O'Ferrall's account shows the local character.

[113] 5. Report on the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, V, pp. 162ff. Pöch in Sitz.-Ber. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., Vienna, Math.-Nat. Section,

[159 cont.]

CXV, 1, p. 6. The same in *Mitt. d. Anthrop. Ges.*, Vienna, XXXVIII, pp. 25ff. Manuscript by Kuthe in the Berlin Museum. Lambert, *Moeurs et Coutumes des Néo-Caledoniens*, p. 257. Marzan, "Le totémisme aux îles Fiji," *Anthropos*, II (1907), pp. 400ff.

group has not been documented from Berlinhafen (6); on New

6. Erdweg, "Die Bewohner der Insel Tumleo [The Inhabitants of Tumleo Island]," *Mitt. d. Anthrop. Ges.*, Vienna, XXXII (1902), pp. 278f., 375ff.

Caledonia [160] the localization (1) and on the Admiralty Islands

1. Lambert, *op. cit.*, pp. 82ff.

the same trait and patriarchy are not present everywhere (2);

2. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* [Thirty Years in the South Seas], pp. 392ff.

in the Bougainville Strait and in the region of Finschhafen both characteristics have completely disappeared (3). For San

3. Ribbe, *Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln* [Two Years among the Cannibals of the Solomon Islands], p. 140. Parkinson, *ibid.*, p. 481. Vetter in *Nachrichten über Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land* [Reports on Kaiser-Wilhelms land],

x 171
[113]

Cristobal only patriarchy has been confirmed (4), and the strong predominance of totemistic conceptions on Florida and the neighboring area (5) leads us to suspect its existence also on the southeasternmost islands. Totemism, in part without any social significance, in part discernible in totemistic interpretation of the matriarchal [*mutterrechtlichen*] two-class system, is also present elsewhere in Melanesia.

The chief areas of totemism and patriarchal local-exogamy also have a considerable number of other cultural elements in common with Santa Cruz. With regard to the social phenomena, the separation of the men and women has analogies in western New Guinea and on the Admiralty Islands (6). It is significant that the Palau Islands also fit in here through their women's organization, and a kind of local exogamy has also been preserved there, even though altered matriarchally under Indonesian influence (7). These same Palau Islands, however, offer the

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[*160 cont.*] 1897, pp. 87ff. Likewise in large areas of the Massim District (cf. various places in the *Report on British New Guinea*).

4. Codrington, p. 22.

5. Codrington, pp. 29ff.

[113]

6. Moolenburgh in *Tijdschr. Kon. Ned. Aardrijksk. Genootsch.*, XIX, p. 165. Van der Sande, *Nova Guinea*, III, p. 276. Thilenius, *Ethnographische Ergebnisse aus Melanesien*, II, p. 132. Cf. also New Caledonia (L. de Vaux in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, II, p. 330).

x 171
[113]

[160 cont.]

7. Kubary, Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer [The Social Institutions of the Palauans], pp. 33ff.

most striking analogy to the form of prostitution on Santa Cruz (8).

8. Kubary, ibid., pp. 51ff.

An essential element of this complex is the conical-roofed hut (9).

9. Graebner, op. cit., pp. 37ff.

The fire-drill is used on the islands of the Torres Strait and in westernmost New Guinea, as well as on the western Carolines (10).

[113]

10. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits," J.A.I., XIX, p. 385. Chalmers, "Note on the Natives of Kiwai Island, Fly River, British New Guinea," J.A.I., XXXIII, p. 118. Pleyte, "Fire drill and chopsticks from New Guinea," Int. Arch. f. Ethnogr., IX, p. 203. A specimen in the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum from Yap.

The oval wooden bowl, usually with handles at both ends, is found in the western part of British New Guinea, on the north coast of the island, in the Bismarch Archipelago from the Hermit Islands to the Admiralty Islands. The tami bowl and related ones, as well as individual forms of the western Carolines, are perhaps related, certainly the oval bowls from San Cristobal and [161] environs (1), as well as individual forms in the

1. The above data based on material in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.

[161 cont.]

x 171 northern New Hebrides (2). Within the same area, on the Admiralty
Islands and San Cristobal (3), we find wooden bowls in the shape
of animals, just as they occur on Santa Cruz (4). The distribution
of headrests should be specially noted. As is known, they are
spread throughout New Guinea (5). In isolated instances they
appear in Santa Cruz and then again in a larger area on Fiji,
Tonga, and Samoa (6). Now the distribution within the last-
x [174] named area can be traced back to the very intensive connections
between the three groups, and in view of the almost total absence

[113] 2. Cf. Hagen and Pineau, "Les Nouvelles Hebrides," Revue d'Ethnographie, VII, p. 346 (Fig. 82).

3. According to material in the R.-J.-Museum.

4. Here and there also on New Guinea and the New Hebrides.

[113] 5. Cf. Von Luschan, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde der Deutschen Schutzgebiete [Contributions to the Ethnology of the German Protectorates], pp. 66ff., as well as Krieger, Neu-Guinea, pp. 472 ff. Also Edge-Partington, I, 263ff.; II, 155f., 184.

6. Museum material. Cf. Edge-Partington, I, 118f.; II, 43, 47, 59.

x 171 x[174]

[161 cont.]
of the implements in the rest of Polynesia, it can be assumed that Fiji was the point of origin. Both of the principal types, the one with multiple feet, often in the shape of an animal, and the one consisting of a head- and foot-plate with connecting members, are widely distributed in New Guinea, but their compact distribution is bounded on the north by Finschhafen and on the south by the Gulf of Papua. Farther east, for example, on Collingwood Bay, they are linked with a well-developed totemism, traces of which are not lacking in the Massim District (7). Besides that, however, the monoxylic forms in such distant places as Finschhafen and Geelvink Bay show such strong resemblances in the shaping of the figures (8) that even secondary shifts in the distribution of the headrests are not outside the realm of possibility. At any rate, on the basis of their principal areas of distribution, in New Guinea, too, they belong to the complex of the totem culture. We should therefore also expect to find them on the Admiralty Islands, where, in fact (9), on Maty they have their analogues in the recurring (10) elevated headpieces on the beds. On New Caledonia apparently only a beam put under the head corresponds to the headrest (11).

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7. Macgregor, British New Guinea, p. 44.

8. Von Luschan, loc. cit.

9. Material in the Berlin Museum.

10. Hambruch, "Wuvulu und Aua," Mitt. d. Mus. f. Võlkerk. Hamburg, II, 1, p. 124.

11. Lambert, p. 128.

x [161 cont.]

171 501 The boat on Santa Cruz is, in its general type, Polynesian throughout, with Micronesian additions (12). The actual body

12. Cf. p. 201.

of the boat, however, has retained its pre-Polynesian character, the round [162] cross-section with the narrow slit in which the legs of the rower can only be placed one in front of the other (1).

1. Cf. the boats of New Hanover and environs, of Ramu, and especially the canoes without outriggers in the interior of Humboldt Bay and up to Berlinhafen: material in the Berlin Museum and Van der Sande, Nova Guinea, III, pp. 195 ff.

178 The stock of ornaments that the inhabitants of Santa Cruz have preserved from ancient times is comparatively rich. To

x 171 [291] be sure the penis sheath, which otherwise is characteristic for the cultural complex, is lacking (2), but it is found nearby on

2. Graebner, Z.f.E., XXXVII, p. 37.

Ulawan, one of southeastern Solomons, which is culturally related (3). On the other hand, the bark belt as it is known from

[113] 3. Surville in Magazin von merkw. neuen Reisebeschreibungen, XVIII, p. 117.

central New Guinea and the Admiralty Islands (4) is also

4. Graebner, loc. cit. Perhaps also on the southern New Hebrides, cf. F. de Tolna, pp. 206f. There and on New Caledonia, a penis

x171

present on Santa Cruz. The breast disk of Tridacna with the tortoise shell layer, which corresponds exactly to the kapkap of northern New Ireland, as well as to related forms on the Admiralty Islands and the northern Solomons, is very characteristic. Undoubtedly related also, although modified in shape, are the well-known ornaments from the Gulf of Papua and similar forms on the north coast of New Guinea, as well as the shell disks with dotted designs from Malaita (5). As for nose ornaments, the nose ring worn in the septum is documented only for the northern coastal area of New Guinea and for Collingwood Bay (6); nevertheless, its undoubted association with the far more widespread nose-rod does not permit its definite inclusion in the culture complex in question. There is greater probability that the wearing of

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[162 cont.] sheath also: Cook, Second Voyage, II, pp. 34, 106, 119; cf. F. de Tolna, pp. 189ff.

5. Museum material from Cologne and Berlin. Cf. Stephan-Graebner, p. 188, where the kapkap are probably erroneously linked with the bow-culture; not improbably only a relatively secondary distribution of concave shapes remains.

[113]

6. Museum material. Cf. Finsch, "Ethnogr. Erfahr. u. Belegstücke aus der Südsee [Ethnographic Experiences and Specimens from the South Seas]," Ann. K.-K. Naturh. Hofmus., III, p. 99. Edge-Partington, II, 148 and 194. Isolated form from Yule Island, ibid., II, 180. Report on British New Guinea, 1890-91, p. 15.

[162 cont.]
pegs in the nostrils belongs to it, since up to now it has only rarely become known, for example, among the Tugeri and their neighbors, as well as in northern New Britain and southern New Ireland (7), where there are not a few traces of totemistic culture (8), and finally from the southern Solomon Islands (9). The distribution of hair styles and head ornaments has received little attention. Nevertheless the recurrence of the hair-crest, as the co boys of Santa Cruz [163] wear it, in northern New Ireland and in the region of Humboldt Bay (1) is certainly noteworthy. The cylindrical or even sausage- or braid-like winding of the hair shows a more widespread and typical distribution. In its simplest form it is found, besides on Santa Cruz, on the Admiralty Islands, in the northern parts of Dutch New Guinea, and New Caledonia (2);

7. Macgregor in Report on British New Guinea, 1889-90, pp. 71ff. Finsch, p. 97, Parkinson, p. 150. Stephan-Graebner, p. 38.

8. Cf. Stephan-Graebner, pp. 178f.

9. Coote, p. 169.

1. Parkinson, p. 289. Van der Sande, p. 57. It also occurs at initiation celebrations in south-eastern Australia.

2. Parkinson, illustration facing p. 416. Van der Sande, p. 58. Lambert, p. 143.

[163 cont.]

171 on the north coast of New Guinea there are the little hair-baskets (3), to which the bamboo cylinders of Dutch New Guinea

3. First in Finsch, op. cit., pp. 228f.

correspond (4), and the peculiar balloon caps of the youths on

4. Van der Sande, pp. 58f.

the northernmost Solomons are known (5). The cylindrical head-

5. Parkinson, pp. 657f.

ring of Santa Cruz appears to be related to this, at least externally, and it is found also in New Caledonia (6), on the Maty

6. Already in Cook, Second Voyage, II, p. 119. Lambert, p. 143.

Islands (7), and as an ornament of mourning on the Admiralty

7. Hambruch, "Wuvulu und Aua," Mitt. d. Mus. f. Võlkerk. Hamburg, II, 1, pp. 97f. Foy, Jahresbericht des Vereins z. Fõrderung des Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museums, I-IV, p. 5.

Islands and in the Finschhafen area (8).

[113] 8. Parkinson, p. 369. Hagen, Unter den Papuas [Among the Papuans], p. 168. Cf. also Roy, Führer durch das Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, second edition, p. 128.

[163 cont.]

x 171 [291 764 411 412] A number of the elements that are typical of the total culture circle are missing on Santa Cruz, for example, besides the penis sheath, the platform burial, the spear-sling, the ax form with inserted blade, the dagger, and the spear with stone point (9), and only part of these, namely, the penis sheath, the spear with a stone point, and the platform burial, are present on the neighboring, culturally related southeast Solomons. It is all the 121 more important to point out a characteristic feature of inner affiliation. The question of the cultural-historical significance of art forms has scarcely been formulated for the South Seas and, as a matter of fact, cannot be dealt with fruitfully before the general principles of a culture analysis have been set forth. Now, if it can be shown that certain art forms closely coincide in their distribution with culture complexes that have been confirmed elsewhere, not only will the question of the origin of art forms be put on a new basis, but the distribution of the art forms, their purity of style, their transformations and combinations will provide an important measuring device for the psychological unity of the cultures, their points of contact and mixture. Such relationships between art forms and cultures can, in fact, be demonstrated. For the complex dealt with x 171 here I should like to point first to the above-mentioned use of animal figures [164] in the shaping of wooden bowls and headrests (1). Even more important is the ornamentation. I shall first briefly mention the fact that the culture in question in essential elements is also spread across Australia, and in such a way that only part of the elements penetrated to the south of the continent, whereas others are more or less limited to the

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9. Graebner, Z.f.E., XXXVII, pp. 36ff.

1. Cf. pp. 157, 167.

x [164 cont.]

171 northern regions (2). To the latter belong the bark belts of the

2. Cf. Graebner, op. cit., pp. 35 ff.

region around Port Darwin. A comparison of their ornamentation with that of the Admiralty belts reveals a basic relationship. The design shows bands with triangular and semicircular figures symmetrically placed along the edge and either touching or almost touching down the center line (3). The Australian specimens

3. The basic types of the Admiralty forms are recognizable in Parkinson's illustrations, pp. 358 and 360. For Port Darwin cf. Graebner in Globus, XC, p. 238, although the approximation of forms is not exhausted by these illustrations.

essentially lack only the notch-like rows of triangles along the edges of the bands, which are typical for the Admiralty Islands. The bark belts of the Gulf of Papua from New Guinea often clearly show the same basic forms, despite the addition of masked faces and other decorative forms (4), but this is rarer and weaker

[113]

4. Cf. Haddon, Decorative Art of British New Guinea, pp. 120ff. (ill.).

in the bark belts of the region around Berlinhafen. On the other hand, the design recurs quite clearly on the Palau Islands and San Cristobal (5), in the latter area, for example, in the well-

5. Kubary, Ethnogr. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karolinenarchipels, Pl. XXXVI ff., several examples. Museum material for the inlaid work of the Solomons. Typical forms of

x 171 [164 cont.]

wood-carving, for example, in Von Hügel, Man, 1903, Pl. L, 2 and 4.

known beautiful mother-of-pearl inlays, which are found in related forms as far as New Georgia. On Santa Cruz clearly related designs are found on the clubs, headrests, boat scoops, etc. (6),

6. Cf. p. 159.

except that the triangles and semicircles are usually replaced by trapezoids. Despite all the more recent influences, especially Micronesian, which are also recognizable in the style, they show the close affiliation of the group with the ancient cultural entity (7).

7. New Caledonia is included. Cf. the house-post in the Berlin Museum VI 1805.

x 171 x 174 A further negative factor makes this cultural affiliation of Santa Cruz even more apparent. In most of the other areas of Melanesia where totemism and the cultural elements connected with it are clearly preserved, they are associated with components of other, still older culture layers so that they can hardly be separated, and the whole complex, from the totemistic culture down, must be included as a basic layer. x 171 These oldest cultural elements are, as a methodical [165] comparison, especially of Australian culture relationships, shows (1): the missile-

1. Cf. Graebner, op. cit., pp. 39f.

and staff-club, boomerang, parrying shield, coil-basket, and probably also the mesh bag, sounding rod and fishing stick, niche-grave and cremation, scarification and breaking off the teeth. All these phenomena, with the exception of the parrying

[165 cont.]

x 171 shield and the boomerang, are found in Melanesia and even Polynesia -- several, for example, on Hawaii -- often sporadically or combined in greater numbers, and frequently, as we have said, in combination with totemism and its accompanying phenomena, because they have all been pushed back into the same areas by more recent cultures. Of all the phenomena mentioned, there is evidence of only three on Santa Cruz: the staff-club, the sounding rod, and the fishing stick. Of these, however, the fishing stick, in shape as well as in its limited use for catching flying fish and the associated use of the float, show a close connection with the Gilbert Islands, and it is there that the club form of the group has its closest relatives, both with regard to the square cross-section and the slight curvature. The sounding rod, too, is found in eastern Micronesia (2). At least

2. Cf. p. 196 below.

the other two objects, however, are not part of the series of the oldest cultural elements on Santa Cruz and will be dealt with in the later discussion of the Micronesian connections. Of all the areas of Melanesia, perhaps only the Admiralty Islands reveal the totemistic culture complex as relatively free from older
* 174 admixtures as Santa Cruz. Perhaps this is connected with the fact that the oldest cultures at most had the raft, but were unfamiliar with the boat, so that part of the more isolated groups of islands were first discovered and settled by the boat-traveling bearers of the totemistic culture.

x 174 Two cultures between the one just discussed and the
x 171 Malayo-Polynesian one have left their mark on the Melanesian islands. The first, characterized chiefly by the matriarchal two-class system, by secret societies and masked dances, is centered in eastern Melanesia, whereas the second, whose distinguishing feature is the use of bow and arrow, extends from the west across New Guinea, and its principal development took place here, although from the central Solomons its influence in essential elements extends over the whole of

[165 cont.]

x 174 x 171 eastern Melanesia, even as far as New Caledonia and Fiji, an influence that, of course, perhaps to a great [166] extent, rests on secondary movements within eastern Melanesia (1).

x 171 Elements of both cultures are also found on Santa Cruz, but oddly enough, the weakest are those of the former, the culture actually typical for eastern Melanesia. To be sure, there are masks on the islands of the group, but they do not seem to play anywhere near as important a role as on the neighboring groups. There is evidence of mother-right on Nufiloli, but not in the form of the two-class system; it therefore perhaps reached the Santa Cruz group in a form already modified by the bow-culture, like the skull-cult, which, of course, may have already belonged to the two-class culture (2), but at least on the principal island Ndeni through the use of skull-shrines and on Vanikoro through the addition of headhunting, it points back to the later forms on the Solomon Islands (3). On the other hand,

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1. Cf. Graebner, Zeitschr. f. Ethn., XXXVII, pp. 31ff., 41ff. Stephan-Graebner, pp. 168ff., 186ff.

[113] 2. In favor of this is its occurrence on the New Hebrides, on New Britain and adjacent New Ireland. Cf., for example, Hagen and Pineau, "Les Nouvelles Hebrides," Revue d'Ethnographie, VII, p. 332. Parkinson, p. 81, where, of course, he entirely misconstrues the idea of ancestor worship. Stephan-Graebner, p. 118.

[113] 3. Cf., among others, Guppy, The Solomon Islands, pp. 16, 53. Codrington, pp. 254ff., 345. Edge-

from the second culture complex, which came from New Guinea, the use of bow and arrow on Santa Cruz as the sole weapon must be stressed above all, and furthermore the use of betel and sago (4), as well as the form of the spoons made from nautilus shell, which are practically identical with certain New Guinea forms, especially those of the north coast (5).

x 174 x 171 The question now is, by what route did Santa Cruz obtain these new elements of culture? Two facts point to the New Hebrides, one of them to the Banks Islands in particular. The arrows with bone points from the Santa Cruz group seem to show a close relationship with those of the New Hebrides, on which the bone arrowheads display the greatest wealth of form (6), whereas they seem to be entirely absent on the Solomons group to the north. The bow from Santa Cruz, too, in the characteristics of the external form, such as the type of ends, is perhaps

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x 171 [166 cont.] Partington, II, 98. Foy, *Führer durch das Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum*, second edition, p. 105.

4. Cf., among others, Guppy, pp. 82ff., 95f. Codrington, pp. 319f., 351.

5. Museum material.

6. Museum material. Cf. Edge-Partington, I, 136f. A close relationship is further shown by occurrence of feathered arrows (*ibid.*, II, 76), such as the Spaniards mention for Santa Cruz.

[166 cont.]
more similar to some New Hebrides bows, especially the reflex bows from Espiritu Santo, than to those of the Solomon Islands (7).

7. Cf. Frobenius, Die Bögen der Oceanier, pp. 26ff.

There is a still closer relationship between the Santa Cruz pouch-bags plaited out of pandanus [167] and a form on the Banks Islands (1). This last similarity, however, by its very completeness, gives the impression of being relatively recent (2); as a matter of fact, at least one of the related types of plaiting -- the single-meshed -- is Polynesian at its earliest, and the bag form in question, in the multitude of its variants (3), seems so

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1. Edge-Partington, I, 152, No. 2. R.-J.-Museum No. 10989 and 10990. A bag form related to Fig. 52, No. 7, seems to exist on Espiritu Santo (Edge-Partington, II, 85, No. 4), a more distantly related one on Tanna (ibid., No. 3).

2. Cf. p. 93.

3. On the Banks Islands only the type shown in Fig. 52, Nos. 5 and 6, seems to occur, although in single- and double-meshed execution; the use of the open-work edge-plaiting, as is done on mats, and ornamentation with red plaited-strips is limited to the Banks Islands.

[167 cont.]

x 174 x 171 indigenous in Santa Cruz industry -- I call attention only to the imitation of the woven material -- that its transmission from Santa Cruz to the Banks Islands seems much more probably than the converse. Incidentally, the same route has already been indicated by the sporadic occurrence of weaving (4), as well

4. Loom, Berlin VI 25974.

as of woven material or plaited work like weaving with almost typical Santa Cruz ornamentation (5). In each case, however,

5. Codrington, pp. 107f. The woven character of the specimens was more than doubtful until the Berlin loom definitely confirmed weaving on the Banks Islands. Even now, however, it cannot be regarded as certain in view of the deceptive imitations of weaving from Santa Cruz. A careful study of the originals would be required.

these connections are so recent that they have no bearing on the present discussion of the connection between Santa Cruz and the New Hebrides.

x 171 Thus the only actual evidence for closer pre-Polynesian connections with the New Hebrides is the form of the arrows and perhaps of the bows; on the other hand, there are very basic factors that show a strong influence from the Solomon Islands. First there is the previously mentioned skull-cult with the use of the shrine, which prevails throughout the British Solomons from New Georgia to San Cristobal. In connection with this, the entire spiritualism of Santa Cruz shows the clearest relationships with that of the Solomons: in both groups, first of all, absolute predominance of the cult of the dead, in contrast to the New Hebrides with their worship of non-human spirits; in both, the sacrifice of food, again in contrast

[167 cont.]

x 171 to the New Hebrides where the sacrifice of money prevails (6).

6. Codrington, pp. 122ff., 128ff. Verguet in Revue d'Ethnographie, IV, p. 211.

The agreement extends to the spiritualistic metamorphosis of the ancient magic of persons (7). The infrequent occurrence of

7. Codrington, pp. 194 ff. The small figures of ancestors, menata, remind one, in the stylization of the head dress, of the figures put on the clubs of San Cristobal, for instance (cf. also Verguet in Revue d'Ethnographie, IV, p. 223, ill.). The stylization is probably indigenous to Santa Cruz, however, so that here, too, perhaps we should think of the relationship as reversed.

masks on Santa [168] Cruz may be explained by the connection with the Solomons; there, too, on the southeastern islands, they are almost or completely absent (1). Likewise the

1. Codrington, pp. 96f., only on Florida.

x 171 121 sporadic and atypical occurrence of mother right is explained by the fact that San Cristobal and its immediate vicinity are organized with father-right and the mother-right class system on Florida and its vicinity has deviated from the strict two-class type through totemistic influences as well as secondary, though perhaps not altogether recent population movements (2).

2. Codrington, pp. 29ff.

[168 cont.]

X 171

Concerning material culture with regard to the connections with the Solomons, the first thing to be mentioned is the oar form with the long blade and cross-handle observed on the Reef island Lomlom, which corresponds exactly to the one known from San Cristobal and vicinity (3). I should like to put less emphasis on

3. For example, Edge-Partington, I, 204.

a boat form, the description of which could refer to plank-boats, but probably simply means the sea-going boats of the group, with their high, carefully constructed platform superstructures (4).

4. Cf. p. 68.

The preparation and consumption of sago extends as far as the Banks Islands, but the custom is so weak that the pronounced use of sago on Santa Cruz must again be traced back to the connections with the Solomons (5), where sago culture flourishes,

5. Codrington, pp. 319f.

especially on the islands of the Bougainville Strait (6). Above

6. Guppy, pp. 82f.

all, one must mention the use of betel, which is unknown throughout the New Hebrides (7). As for the lime-box forms,

7. Codrington, p. 351.

the gourd- and the bamboo-box are present on Santa Cruz, and both are also found on the Solomons, the bamboo box on the middle and eastern islands, the calabash on the western islands (8),

8. For example, Edge-Partington, I, 208. Ribbe, Zwei Jahre unter den

x 171

[168 cont.]

Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln, pp. 49ff., 240. In this connection, cf. Stephan-Graebner, p. 189.

in part with related ornamentation (9).

9. Cf. p. 159.

In view of this distribution of forms, it is clear, first of all, that the calabash must formerly have extended farther east, since otherwise it would scarcely have found its way to Santa Cruz. Also, the decrease in the use of sago on the eastern Solomons (10) must have set in after its transmission to

10. Guppy, pp. 82f.

the Santa Cruz group. This tendency for specialized development in various parts of the Solomons [169] is a general phenomenon; house- and boat-forms, ornaments, shields, clubs, etc. make it possible to distinguish a number of culture areas on the basis of shape and ornamentation, of which the most important, from the Bougainville Strait eastward, are New Georgia, Guadalcanal, Choiseul, Isabel, Malaita, and San Cristobal, although the sea does not always actually form the exact boundary of the areas (1). Nor is there a lack of the

1. Cf. Führer durch das Mus. f. Völkerk., Berlin, 14th edition, pp. 117f. (in the 12th and 13th editions as well), and the map in Stephan-Graebner.

most diversified transitions between the individual areas, which, however, cannot eradicate the main feature, an essential contrast in culture and style between the distant parts of the

[169 cont.]

x 171 group. In this situation the forms of the bow, arrow, and some spears represent a certain anomaly. The type of arrow and spear that developed on Bougainville is distributed, like the Bougainville bow, over a large part of the group on the trade routes (2),

[113] 2. Cf. Woodford, A Naturalist among the head hunters, p. 30. Also Guppy, p. 72 (spears).

and, as is clearly shown by a comparison with the arrows and the barbed spear type of the southeastern islands, they are such close imitations of the favored northern types that even an experienced ethnographer is unable to identify any one specimen at a glance (3).

3. Museum material. Cf. Edge-Partington, I, 212f; II, 100f.

x 171 x 174 I believe that this fact clearly shows that we are dealing with a relatively recent distribution of the type of arrow present today. This leads to the postulate that before this distribution took place another form of arrow must have been present on the southeastern Solomons, since the spread of the bow and arrow to the New Hebrides could scarcely have taken any other route than across the southeastern Solomons. The result is the possibility, which is important for our problem of the cultural connections of Santa Cruz, that in times past arrows with bone points existed on the southeastern Solomon Islands (4). A comparison of the

4. In this connection an important fact is that spear points of bone actually do exist.

Santa Cruz arrows with those of the New Hebrides can only support this assumption; despite their undeniable relationship, they show too much dissimilarity to say, without qualification,

[169 cont.]

×171 that one is derived from the other. Therefore the only cogent
×174 connection between the mask-culture and the bow-culture of the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz becomes hypothetical; the assumption that Santa Cruz obtained all the elements of both cultures solely by way of the Solomons gains in probability.

197 The languages of the principal island Ndeni and the island Nufiloli certainly belong [170] to the group of so-called Melanesian languages (1), despite their not unimportant peculiarities which may one day be significant in revealing the pre-Austronesian linguistic history of the area. The relationship with Polynesian culture which this discloses (2) is, of course,

×171 also revealed elsewhere. Among the objects related to navigation, which are prominent everywhere in the life peculiar to the Polynesian peoples, the first to be named is the outrigger boat and the double boat such as the Spaniards found on the group. There is the triangular sail with all the rigging, the oar shape, and the scoop for bailing water out of the boat. As for fishing gear, the nets are to be mentioned, especially the net-trap (3). Strangely enough, none of the forms of the Polynesian fishhook has become known; nevertheless the Santa Cruz practice of fishing with kites probably also belongs to the Polynesian culture complex. At any rate, the kite, either as a fishing implement or as a toy, is known not only in British New Guinea,

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1. Codrington, The Melanesian Languages, p. 16 and elsewhere.

2. Cf. Graebner, Z.f.E., XXXVII, pp. 44ff. Stephan-Graebner, pp. 190ff.

3. Cf. Graebner, p. 49. Krämer, Die Samoa-Inseln, II, p. 177.

x [170 cont.]

171 but also on the Solomon Islands and New Hebrides (4), hence

4. Macgregor, British New Guinea, p. 69. Guppy, p. 151. Codrington, pp. 318, 342.

unmixed areas with "Melanesian" language, in Polynesia itself from Hawaii, Tahiti, the Hervey Islands, Rotuma, and New Zealand (5). Also undoubtedly Polynesian is shark fishing with

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5. Freycinet, Voyage autour du Mond, II, p. 607. Ellis, Polynesian Researches, I, p. 228. W.W.Gill, Myths and Songs, from the South Pacific, p. 123. Gardiner in J.A.I., XXVII, p. 487. A.S.Thompson, The Story of New Zealand, I, p. 197.

a noose, as practiced, for example, on Samoa, in Micronesia on the Palau Islands, in Melanesia, and in northern New Ireland with the well-known shark trap (6); the further distribution of

6. Kraemer, Die Samoa-Inseln, II, p. 198. Kubary, Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karolinen-Archipels, p. 126. Parkinson, Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee, pp. 297ff.

which can be assumed from the occurrence of the shark rattle. Furthermore the plaiting of mats is certainly Polynesian, and probably also the preparation of bark cloth, the dress of the men and women, the ear ornaments, especially the ear plug from Vanikoro, which recurs on the central Carolines and in eastern Polynesia, as well as on the central and eastern Solomons (7).

7. Guppy, p. 133; Edge-Partington, I, 46 and 198; Ribbe, pp. 264, 321;

×171

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[170 cont.]

Kubary, Die Bewohner der Mortlock-Inseln [The Inhabitants of the Mortlock Islands], pp. 48f; Finsch, Ann. K.K. Naturh. Hofmus., VIII, p. 372 and elsewhere. Ring-shaped ear plugs used to occur on the Marshall Islands and still do in British New Guinea and on the central Solomons.

Tattooing is undoubtedly Polynesian. As for other things, principally the chiefdom is to be named, and furthermore the fortification of the villages with stone walls (8), the spirit huts, which correspond to the western Polynesian maraes (9), the sacred stones of Vanikoro, [171] the legend of Lata and Sinota, which is related to the Maui myth, as well as the divine figure Tangaloa. The idea of the twofold fate of the souls after death also appears to be Polynesian.

×174 The various parts of this complex, however, are not equivalent; the connections of Santa Cruz with the Polynesian world are threefold. As shown elsewhere (1), the area of

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8. Hawaii, Nukuhiwa, Samoa, Tonga: compiled by Waitz, Anthropologie der Naturvölker, V, p. 50. Also Fiji: Wilkes, United States Explor. Exped., III, p. 80.

9. Cook, Third Voyage, I, pp. 312f. and elsewhere. Turner, Samoa, p. 19. Hale, United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology, pp. 97f. and elsewhere.

1. Graebner, pp. 44ff.

[171 cont.]

x 174 distribution of "Melanesian" languages represents the route of the ancient Polynesians when they immigrated to the South Seas. There must therefore be evidence of this original relationship on Santa Cruz, alongside the clearly recognizable later influences of specifically Polynesian and specifically Micronesian cultural forms. The relationship will not always be clearly evident; often the older common type would have been completely driven out by the more recent special development. For example, nowadays the natives are familiar with only the Micronesian ax form, but this does not justify the conclusion that previously they did not have an ax. In this case the more recent form has caused the older form, probably the common Polynesian type, to disappear. Proof of proto-Polynesian cultural affinity can be advanced only where the cultural element in question, although undoubtedly related, is formally independent of Micronesian as well as Polynesian, in particular western Polynesian, developments. This is especially true where the independent Santa Cruz form comes closer to other Melanesian developments in the form of the type.

x 174 x 171 The outrigger boat is among those objects that in unique construction -- especially of the outrigger -- show more recent forms. Nevertheless, it can be definitely assumed that this type of boat is older on the group than are the Micronesian influences; the body of the boat itself, as was mentioned previously, has the pre-Polynesian form, and the shape and construction of the platform is reminiscent of the forms in western New Britain and the French Islands (2). The decisive factor is the sail, which in its peculiar shape differs from the common type of Micronesia and western Polynesia, and the related Melanesian sail-forms otherwise show no little diversity (3). Now since the sailboat of

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2. Cf. Stephan, Südseekunst [Art of the South Seas], p. 127.

3. I draw attention only to the oval forms of eastern New Guinea.

x 174 [171 cont.]

x 171 the South Seas undoubtedly occurs only with the outrigger, the outrigger boat on Santa Cruz certainly existed prior to the Micronesian and Polynesian influences. The oar, too, in shape agrees less with the Micronesian and Polynesian forms than with the Melanesian forms. In particular its ornamentation is [172] foreign to the first-named areas, but its basic type, to some extent even related motifs, recur in Kaiser-Wilhelmsland, in the eastern part of the Bismarck Archipelago, and on the Solomon Islands (1). Furthermore, it is not unlikely that tattooing belongs here on account of its limited development, since tattooing of the entire body, or at least areas of it, is typical for Micronesia as well as Polynesia (2). Finally, the Lata-Sinota myth can be called ancient, despite its clear relationship with genuine Polynesian myths, because it does not merely represent a local variation, but the characters of the myth, which in Polynesia comes either from Maui or Tangaloa, have names that are foreign to actual Polynesian mythology.

x 174 These facts pose another important problem. The route by which these proto-Polynesian cultural elements reached

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1. Cf., among others, Erdweg in Mitt. Anthrop. Ges., Vienna, XXXII, p. 369. Biro, Samml. d. Ungar. Nat. -Mus. [Collection of the Hungarian National Museum], III, p. 78. Edge-Partington, II, 129. Ribbe, p. 61.

[113] 2. Cf. Joest, Tätowieren, pp. 74ff. Marquardt, Tätowieren in Samoa. Robley, Moko or Maori Tattooing, and others. A. Herz, Tätowierung, Art und Verbreitung [Tattooing, Kind and Distribution] pp. 96ff.

x 174

x [171]

[172 cont.]
Santa Cruz naturally led over New Guinea or the Bismarch Archipelago and the Solomons. Even if one disregards the existence of the ear plug on the Solomons, explicable perhaps as secondary, and the baffling similarity between the adoption system on San Cristobal (3), which is certainly Polynesian, and that of Santa Cruz, with respect to the Melanesian connections of the group there is a certain similarity in the distribution of the ancient Polynesian elements with those of the mask- and bow-culture. Also with regard to the elements of Polynesian relationship, a closer connection to the New Hebrides, which would make it necessary to assume an intermediary position for this group, cannot be established. The formulation of the question becomes automatic: Is it necessary to assume a connection of longer or shorter duration for the transmission to Santa Cruz of elements of the mask- and bow-culture? Or is it more probable that these elements first reached the group along with those of the Polynesian culture complex, that they were adopted and transmitted in the course of the Polynesian migration via New Guinea and the Solomons? I am inclined to favor the latter assumption. There is a certain disproportion between quality and quantity of the elements of the mask- and bow-culture transmitted to Santa Cruz (4). They are few in number and in part weakly developed; this would argue for secondary transmission through intercommunication from group to group without any major exchange of population elements. [173] Opposed to this is the transplantation to Santa Cruz of the skull-cult and belief in spirits, the far-reaching influence of which can hardly be

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3. Elton, "Notes on the Natives of the Solomon-Islands," J.A.I., XVII, p. 93.

4. Cf. p. 177.

× 174 [173 cont.]

imagined without some contact of the peoples and therefore migration of ethnic elements. The contradiction could be explained and solved if the transmission were made through the agency of ethnic elements related to Polynesia. The possibility that components of older cultures, not only of a material but also of a spiritual nature, were adopted from the ancient Polynesian migration and carried farther cannot be denied. In broad outline we must divide this historical process, insofar as the native populations of Melanesia are concerned, into three periods, which cannot, of course, be strictly separated from one another. First there was a period in which the initially weak colonies of immigrants, despite their superior culture, were unable to avoid close contact with and domination by the indigenous environment. They probably also stimulated native life by their influence and example and swept parts of the population along with them. This is the only explanation for the fact that the extreme outposts, the marginal areas of Polynesian culture, were the very ones that not only best preserved the older forms of components of Polynesian culture (1), but also show the greatest

1. Cf., for example, Graebner, p. 50.

similarity to Melanesian peoples, as is shown on the Marquesas, Paumotu, Easter Island, and New Zealand, not only in the occurrence of certain related ethnological elements (2), but also

2. For example, Graebner, p. 40; furthermore, masks, Hervey-oars, skull-cult, etc.

somatically (3), linguistically (4), and not least in the art forms,

3. Cf. Von Luschan, "Sammlung Baessler, Polynesische Schädel" [Baessler Collection, Polynesian Skulls], Veröff. d. Mus. f. Völkerk., Berlin, XII.

x 174

[173 cont.]

4. W. Schmidt, "Die Fr. Müllersche Theorie über die Melanesier [The Fr. Müller Theory about the Melanesians]," Mitt. d. Anthr. Ges., Vienna, XXXII, p. 157.

especially the ornamentation (5). The second period is the principal period of Polynesian migration, as a result of which, because of constant reinforcements, central and western Polynesia was settled by tribes with purely Polynesian characteristics. With the decrease and cessation of the migration there finally began the absorption and assimilation of foreign colonies in Melanesia by the numerically stronger native population, a process which led to the formation of the so-called Melanesian languages and their corresponding cultural pattern. For the colonists of the first period Santa Cruz was a discovery that they had to make with a certain inevitability as soon as they extended their voyages beyond the Solomon Islands. This explains why many Melanesian cultural elements, along with Polynesian ones, found their way to the group. [174] It also explains why these Melanesian elements maintained themselves on the group and did not make way for a purely Polynesian culture, just as the language has a certain unique position among the "Melanesian" idioms. As far as the migration route to Polynesia is concerned, Santa Cruz lies in a dead angle between the route across Micronesia and the one that leads across the New Hebrides and Fiji to Samoa and Tonga. The southern migration, which made its first groping advances from the Solomons in the direction of both Santa Cruz and the Banks Islands, probably soon bypassed the first group and limited itself to the

5. Especially the ornamentation of the Marquesas and New Zealand.

[174 cont.]

x 174 more promising New Hebrides route (1). It was only later diffusions

1. This, of course, should not be understood as having happened with full awareness. Rather, the movement along the New Hebrides route had the possibility of continuation and therefore resulted in a rather unstable condition of the population, which yielded to every new influence and offered room for action, so that the movement there assumed the character of a stream.

of Micronesian and the reverberating Polynesian culture that had an enduring influence on the Santa Cruz group.

x 171 One of the most interesting phenomena of South Seas ethnology is the zone of Micronesian cultural influence, which extends along the northeast edge of the Melanesian archipelago and terminates in Santa Cruz. The chief characteristic of this influence is the loom, which is absent in all the rest of Melanesia and in Polynesia. Even in Micronesia it is limited to the Carolines, and therefore its presence on the islands from Nuguria to Santa Cruz (2) can only be due to a secondary spread from the Carolines.

2. There are specimens in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum from all the groups from Ontong Java southward, as well as from Santa Cruz. The Berlin Museum owns one from Sikaiana.

The connections between Santa Cruz and Micronesia, especially the Carolines, are not limited to that, however. In particular, the ax form of the group corresponds perfectly to the form with

x 171

[174 cont.]
the bent handle and lashed mounting, used chiefly on Kusaie, but also on the Palau Islands, as well as to the southeast on the Ellice Islands (3). The outrigger type of boat resembles neither the Melanesian nor actual Polynesian forms, but rather its closest relatives are found on Ponape and the Marshall Islands. Both have the curved transverse pieces extending from the outrigger bridge to the outrigger beam, which on Ponape are combined with the vertical connecting rod (4). The system of walls protecting each house individually -- not the bastion-like constructions [175] outside the villages -- and the island fortifications mentioned by Quiros resemble the well-known, still enigmatic constructions on Ponape and Kusaie (1). The use of Curcuma to color the body and the mats (2), the ornamentation

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3. Finsch, *Ann. K.K. Hofmus.*, VIII, p. 215 (Truk-Mortlock?: p. 341). Kubary, *Ethnogr. Beitr. z. Kenntnis des Karolinen-Archipels*, p. 201 (Pl. XXIX, 2). Hedley, "The Atoll of Funafuti," *Mem. Austral. Mus. Sydney*, III, 4, pp. 255f.

4. Kubary, *ibid.*, Pl. LIV, 5 and 7.

[113]

1. Cf. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, pp. 79ff. (plan facing p. 98). Finsch, *Ann. K.K. Hofmus.*, VIII, pp. 210f.

2. For example, Kubary, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 (also footnote 2) f.

x 171

[175 cont.]

whose second chief element -- besides that of the totem culture -- is closely connected with the style characterized by designs of triangles, rhomboids, and fish, from Uluthi, Truk-Mortlock, Ponape, and the Gilbert Islands (3), the sandals (4), and especially the ear ornaments (5), which are quite similar to those used on Truk-Mortlock, constitute further points of contact (6). The

3. They naturally appear primarily on the woven fabrics and their imitations, but also on the tapa cloth, and in the application of color and details of form profoundly influence even the genuine totem ornamentation of the clubs and the painted boat-scoops. Indeed, one may say that under Micronesian influence this ornamentation is in a certain sense reversed by a shifting of emphasis. For an important single decoration (Fig. 17, No. 1, 58, and others), cf. also the not uncommon palm- and bird-like decorations of the Palau houses, as well as the tattooing design from there in Joest, *Tätowieren*, pp. 75f., and the decorations on the Gilbert cuirass in K. Hagen, "Die Ornamentik von Wuvulu and Aua," *Mitt. a. d. Museum f. Völkerk.*, Hamburg, II, 2, p. 171 (Fig. 14).

4. Which, however, are also widely distributed in Polynesia.

5. Finsch, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

ear plug, too, is found on the central Carolines (7). Since the analogies mentioned overlap in part into eastern Micronesia, the following may be mentioned as special points of contact with this part of the area: the sounding rods known on the Marshall Islands (8), the square club of the Gilbert Islands (9), and the small stick for catching flying fish, which is likewise verified for the Gilbert Islands, but also for the region west of the Palau group (10).

x 171 x 174 In this connection it is striking that the resemblances do not point to a single point of departure in Micronesia; on the contrary, the analogies are more or less distributed over the Micronesian area. One suspects, therefore, that the Micronesian influence on Santa Cruz cannot be attributed to a uniform flow from one direction, but that the individual elements of Micronesian

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X 171 [175 cont.]

6. The flat bags of plaited coconut also have relatives on Yap; the arrow with the two secondary points shown in Edge-Partington, I, 157, No. 3, has its analogues in the spears with ray-spine points from Truk (museum material).

7. Cf. p. 186.

8. Finsch, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

9. Finsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 42f. Museum material.

10. R.-J.-Mus. No. 10856, 10857, 10926. (Cf. also Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition*, V, p. 96.) Kubary, *Ethnogr. Beiträge*, pp. 125f.

[175 cont.]

×171 ×174 culture found their way to the group individually at different times and from different places, perhaps accidentally, as [176] was made plausible by Thilenius in particular for the existence of Polynesian and eastern Micronesian elements on the islands north of Santa Cruz (1). For Santa Cruz this type of transplantation of cultural items in the case of the eastern Micronesian analogies comes into consideration chiefly with respect to the sounding rods, the small stick for fishing, and the club (2).

×171 In the case of the club, the certainty of direct transmission from the Gilbert Islands is considerably weakened by the fact that the Santa Cruz club, despite its definite relationship with the Gilbert form, cannot be directly derived from it. The Gilbert club lacks not only the characteristic skiff-shape of the Santa Cruz type, but the position of the bent surface is also different; on the Gilbert Islands it runs diagonally to the cross-section, on Santa Cruz vertically to the base line. It is certain, therefore, that this has not been a comparatively recent borrowing. In the case of the sounding rods, whose restriction to the eastern part of Micronesia is perhaps due in part to our lack of knowledge, there can be even less certainty about direct borrowing, since they have also found their way to Ontong Java (3) and could have come

1. Thilenius, Ethnogr. Ergebn. aus Melanesien, I.

2. The boat scoop with the handle extending toward the back also comes into consideration here, since it is native to the Gilbert Islands (Berlin VI 5736). It is also found in New Zealand, however. In addition, cf. p. 203 below.

3. Parkinson, "Zur Ethnographie der

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[176 cont.]

Ongtong-Java und Tasman-Inseln,"
I.A.f.E., X, p. 137.

from there to Santa Cruz, along with other elements. The small fishing-stick was more widely distributed throughout Micronesia, at least in earlier times, as is shown by the similarity of its shape and use on the Palau and Gilbert Islands. Thus, there is no proof for a direct and distinct cultural dependence of our group on the eastern Micronesian islands.

Undoubtedly the actual main route of Micronesian cultural elements to Santa Cruz, as is shown by the distribution of the principal characteristic feature, the loom, is by way of the Greenwich Islands, Nuguria, Ontong Java, and Sikaiana. As a matter of fact, on Ontong Java, for example, besides the loom and the sounding rods, are found Micronesian tattoo ornamentation, the use of Curcuma for coloring, the sandals, and the hanging nets for coconut-shell water containers, made by a wholly similar technique (4), and likewise a form of the plaited

4. Parkinson, ibid., pp. 116f., 137ff.
Water vessel in hanging net: R.-J.-Mus.
No. 15880.

belt which is similar even down to such details as the plaiting in of the tie-strings (5). The route across this series of islands leads

5. R.-J.-Mus. No. 15887.

back to the central Carolines, in other words, to the Truk-Mortlock group, with which Santa Cruz is connected by the very special form of the ear ornaments. Along the entire route from Truk-Mortlock to Santa Cruz, the form of the loom is [177] essentially the same, with very slight deviations in the number and shape of the sticks separating the threads (1). It is the old

1. Cf. Kubary, Ethnogr. Beiträge,
p. 60. A flat shuttle, like the one

[177 cont.]

on Santa Cruz, is found on Nukuoro.

Indonesian loom (2), as occurs also on the western Carolines, and it has been changed in certain basic features only in the eastern part of the archipelago, on Kusaie and probably also Ponape (3).

Nevertheless, even on Truk-Mortlock, the original type underwent a change, albeit a minor one, by the conversion of one of the sticks separating the threads into a round stick around which the warp threads were twined. On the other hand, the loom of Santa Cruz -- and the other forms of the Melanesian border islands as well, aside from an occasional increase of the sticks used to separate the threads -- represents the original type in its greatest purity. Thus the loom spread as far as Santa Cruz prior to the changes which have been shown to have occurred in Micronesia proper. This conclusion gains in certainty and precision by a further consideration. Almost all the woven fabrics from Santa Cruz show a pattern produced by black cross-threads, which, with the aid of a needle, are embroidered on, as it were. The fabrics of the islands as far as Greenwich lack any kind of ornamentation (4); those of the central Carolines are limited to

2. Cf. Meyer and Richter, "Ethnogr. Miszellen [Ethnographic Miscellany]," *Abh. u. Ber. d. Mus. Dresden*, X, No. 6, pp. 36ff.

3. By a board-shaped widening of the tension sticks and the introduction of the heddle rod (see below).

4. In very isolated cases on Greenwich and Sikaiana there are occasional colored cross-threads, which, after a few rounds, run continuously back and

x 171

[177 cont.]

longitudinal patterns achieved through occasional black warp threads. On the eastern Carolines cross patterns are obtained in a most unusual way by changing the color of the warp, which is achieved by knotting together pieces of thread of different colors on the warp beam. The western Carolines are also familiar with cross patterns; their method represents an improvement over the one practiced on Santa Cruz in that the pattern is woven in with continuous black weft threads (5). The various ways of achieving a cross pattern may be increased by the use of Indonesian methods, the chief variants of which are patterning the finished fabric by the batik method and patterning the warp by the ikat method (6).

x 174
x 171 A summary of all the facts shows the following. The art of weaving made its entry into Micronesia, and thus in the South Seas in general, with an unsolved problem, that of patterning, [178] in particular cross patterns. The most primitive of all the methods used is that of Santa Cruz, where each thread of the pattern is inserted into the fabric individually. It is therefore understandable that many islands, especially those that were strongly influenced by the unpatterned Polynesian mat plaiting, gave up ornamentation altogether, while others confined themselves to longitudinal patterns. The eastern Carolines, like a large portion of Indonesia, solved the problem by the ingenious

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forth like a thread of the weft, thus resembling the technique of the western Carolines.

5. Museum material. A technique corresponding to the one on Santa Cruz is also found sporadically and in limited use on the central Carolines.

6. Cf. Meyer and Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 24ff.

[178 cont.]

x 174 idea of making patterns with the warp threads, only they have
x 171 achieved the same goal by different means. Within Oceania, only the western Carolines took part in the otherwise widespread development of the primitive technique, a development which was not easy because it presupposes a rather complicated system of thread separation. The important result for the cultural history of Santa Cruz is that this group represents the original state, from which the various forms of development emerged in the individual areas of Micronesia.

We are led to similar conclusions from a consideration of the outrigger form of the Santa Cruz boat, the nearest relative of which is not on the central Carolines, but on Ponape (1). It appears to be a combination of the older Polynesian form, which connects the outrigger beam with the cross-sticks by means of vertical rods, and the more recent, specifically northern Polynesian curved outrigger (2). In the Santa Cruz and Ponape boat, however, as well as in the related Marshall Islands canoe, the curved pieces do not extend from the body of the boat itself, but from the sides of the outrigger bridge. If one now compares the older Polynesian type with the later outrigger forms of the central and western Carolines, which all clearly belong to a common type (3), the outrigger framework, although rectangular with the vertical connecting part,stands out very prominently. This vertical outrigger part, however, is braced against the

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1. Cf. p. 194.

2. Graebner, Z.f.E., XXXVII, p. 47.

3. Kubary, Pl. XIII, L ff. (text pp. 96, 107, 268ff.).

[178 cont.]

x 174 X/171 outrigger bridge by cross-pieces which sometimes run in a diagonal line, but in other cases can be clearly recognized as offshoots of the old curved pieces. Thus it may be seen that the new, more stable, west and central Carolines type of outrigger goes back to a basic type related to the one on Ponape, whose one-time distribution over the entire Carolines is thus shown.

This has given us two important arguments for the assumption that the period of Micronesian influence in Santa Cruz falls in the oldest period of specifically Carolines' cultural history, [179] a period during which the separate developments of the individual groups of the Carolines as we know them today had not yet taken place. A further argument is that a third significant element of Micronesian culture on Santa Cruz, the ax form, is, in its present-day distribution, recognizable as originally a general possession in the Carolines (1). It has already been said that the occurrence of the little fishing-stick as it was used specifically to catch flying fish on the Palau and Gilbert Islands presupposes a former distribution throughout the Carolines. Thus we are neither obliged nor inclined to assume from the present-day splinters of the Micronesian connections with Santa Cruz that originally the connections were extensive. It is much more probably to assume that the Micronesian elements of the group, in their totality or in a significant majority, found their way to Santa Cruz through an early, uniform influx; furthermore, there is no reason to assume that this path took any different course than across the natural bridge characterized by the distribution of weaving from the central Carolines to Santa Cruz via Greenwich Island, Nuguria, Ontong Java, and Sikaiana.

The existence of wells on Santa Cruz, as reported by the Spaniards, may likewise be traced back to this influence

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1. Cf. p. 193.

[179 cont.]

x 174 from Ontong Java. I do not know of their occurrence on the x 171 Carolines or in Micronesia in general. They are known, however, from the Maty Islands in the western part of the Bismarck Archipelago, which, like Ontong Java and Santa Cruz, show connections with the Carolines. For example, a type of ax related to that of the Carolines and the previously mentioned outrigger brace occur also on Maty (2); a closer connection between the central Carolines on the one hand and Maty and Ontong Java on the other is shown by an ax of turtle-bones that occurs on all three places, and furthermore the forms from Maty and Ontong Java represent an older type as compared to those of Mortlock (3). Maty shows more specific and therefore perhaps more recent connections with regard to the bowl forms of the central Carolines and Palau Islands (4). In any case, the possibility [180]

2. Hambruch, Wuvulu und Aua, p. 21 (Pl. XIX, 2), 130f. (Pl. XXII, 8), 114. The boat scoop with the handle extending backward is also found on Maty: Berlin VI 24579. Hambruch also gives further connections between Maty and Micronesia.

3. Maty: Hambruch, p. 106 (Pl. XI, 55-57); Mortlock: R.-J.-Mus. No. 18217 (also Berlin material); Ontong Java: Parkinson in I.A.f.E., X, p. 145. The Ellice Islands are included here also, as in the case of the ax form (Hedley, p. 252).

4. Although even in this case the Tasman Islands and Ontong Java show

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a form that is at any rate related (cf. Parkinson, ibid., Pl. IX,4).

that the construction of wells had its center of distribution in Micronesia and was either not reported from there or fell victim to the changes of time apparently cannot be excluded from consideration (1).

1. The file covered with fish skin (cf. p. 88) occurs on the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, but also in the central district and on the northeast coast of British New Guinea, perhaps also in other places where it has been overlooked and therefore is not utilizable here. For literature see: Hedley, p. 259; A.M. Walcott in Occasional Papers Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, I, 2, pp. 32ff.; Finsch, Ann. K.K. Naturh. Hofmus., III, p. 329. See also the museum material. (The agreement of the name in Port Moresby and Funafuti is noteworthy.) -- Likewise the pandanus arm-tuft in Hedley, p. 247, is not utilizable.

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Santa Cruz has preserved much from the old or central Carolines cultural goods that were lost on the intermediate islands from Greenwich Island to Sikaiana. The reason is that these islands were subject to a very strong more recent influence from eastern Micronesia and central Polynesia. I
× 171
need refer only to the Polynesian ax shaft, the Polynesian fishhook, the chair [Stuhl], the cylindrical covered vessel distributed from the Gilbert Islands to Samoa, the Gilbert-

[180 cont.]

x 17/ like spears, the shell necklaces, and the sperm whale ornaments (2). Above all, however, the essential features of the boat forms, especially the outrigger construction, show the Polynesian, and to be sure the central Polynesian, type, the northern type in the construction of stem and stern (3). In the plank construction of the canoe, which sometimes occurs, it is doubtful whether there is influence from the neighboring Solomons or from the Gilbert Islands.

This chain of islands with predominantly Polynesian culture, extending from Nuguria to Sikaiana, is joined on the south by Tikopia, which closely neighbors the Santa Cruz group and is completely Polynesian (4); this island not infrequently took in boat crews driven off course from Rotuma, from whence comes a form of tattooing common there (5).

2. Parkinson, I.A.f.E., X, pp. 112ff., 137 ff.; XI, pp. 194ff. Thilenius, Ethnogr. Ergebn. aus Melanesien, I, pp. 22ff., especially 53ff.

3. Thilenius, ibid., pp. 59f; Pl. III. Cf. Graebner, Z.f.E., XXXVII, p. 49.

4. See p. 2 above; also Thilenius, ibid., pp. 15ff., according to whose researches Utupua is also supposed to be predominantly Polynesian (?).

5. Dillon (1830), II, p. 14. D'Urville, pp. 113, 310. Thilenius, ibid.

[180 cont.]

x171 On the other hand, Tikopia shows close agreement and has lively traffic with the islands of the entire chain (6). It is

6. Thilenius, ibid., pp. 57ff.

clear that the Santa Cruz group could not remain untouched by this Polynesian population in its immediate vicinity and swarming around it; as a matter of fact, part of the Reef [167] Islands are colonized by Polynesians. Constant trade relations linked Tikopia with Utupua [181] and Vanikoro, but beyond [439] that also with Ndeni and the Reef Islands; even Sikaiana was occasionally drawn into its orbit (1).

1. Cf. p. 79.

x171, 177 Under these circumstances it is surprising how slight the influence of the more recent Polynesian cultures was on the group. Polynesian life is most marked on Vanikoro, over which Tikopia temporarily exercised a kind of supremacy. Here, the chiefdom in particular in its present form reveals [642] itself as a foreign import, for, as elsewhere in Polynesia, it not only stands far above the common people, but is also remote from all the interests of the individual tribes (2).

2. Cf. p. 109. Concerning Polynesian influence on Vanikoro, cf. Lesson, in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257ff.

x171 The Polynesian cult came in with the chiefs. The spirit houses (balai atua) with their posts of stone or wood, the seats of the spirits, correspond throughout with the hare aiku of Ontong Java, which by their name are characterized as Polynesian cultural items (3). The name Tangaloa (4), which

3. Parkinson, I.A.f.E., X, p. 115.
Thilenius, p. 61.

x171 [181 cont.]

4. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 347f.

often occurs among the chiefs of Vanikoro, shows that Polynesian mythology is also known. Tangaloa, the god, along with greater prominence of the chiefdom, is, of course, found on the Reef island Taumako, which was colonized by Polynesians and where genuine Polynesian tattooing appears (5).

5. Cf. pp. 151, 109, 32.

On Ndeni, besides the spirit huts and the formerly more prominent office of chief, at most the stone fortifications of the villages as they occur in Samoa-Tonga-Fiji (6), the mat

6. Cf. p. 187.

plaiting, perhaps the tapa patterns, which are reminiscent of those from Uea and Niuafoo (7), and the net traps (8)

7. Museum material in Cologne and Berlin.

8. Cf. Thilenius, pp. 53 and 58. The net, however, is undoubtedly ancient Polynesian, cf. Graebner, p. 49; it is also present on the Nicobar Islands.

are connected with specific Polynesian cultures, but above all the method of catching sharks in nooses, exactly as it is
x 174 practiced in Samoa (9). One thing that is not associated

9. Cf. p. 186.

with any other culture because it is unique, but that should nevertheless be mentioned in this connection is the feather

x 174 [181 cont.]
money, the origin of which is necessarily connected with the high value of red parrot feathers on Samoa, Fiji, and Tonga. Its peculiar development alone, however, is sufficient to show that at least a part of these Polynesian connections of the Santa Cruz Islands is considerably older than the Polynesian culture of the neighboring islands, which is almost wholly tied to more recent forms of development, and not unlikely contemporaneous with, if not older than the Micronesian influences. [182] The longer the period in which they spread, the weaker their effect must have been in each case, since their total number was small, and thus it is understandable that the extreme outpost of Carolines culture, Santa Cruz, has in many respects preserved more and older (1) Micronesian characteristics than the more northerly islands.

x171 x 174 The picture of the cultural connections of Santa Cruz would not be complete without a brief summary of the contacts in which the group was the contributor or at least is close to the starting point of the spread. The pouch-bags and the woven dance-headdress of the Banks Islands clearly point back to Santa Cruz (2), whereas the loom from Santa Maria in the Berlin Museum -- probably the only specimen to be found in Europe -- comes closer to the more northerly

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1. The more recent nature of the Carolines connections as far as Sikaiana becomes clear, for example, in the shape of the weaving shuttle, whereas Santa Cruz and Nukuoro have preserved an older type resembling a net needle.

2. Cf. pp. 180f.

[182 cont.]

x 171
x 174

forms from the Carolines to Sikaiana (3). On the other hand, the feather money of the Banks Islands shows older contacts with Santa Cruz (4). Furthermore, occasional contacts of the group with the southeastern Solomon Islands are certain (5). A San Cristobal house-post carved in human form shows a stylization of the hair which is incomprehensible as an indigenous product, but which is customary in Santa Cruz and corresponds to the hair style worn there; another shows the knee ornament made out of a cowrie shell (6).

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3. Cf. p. 193. Like these, it has the shuttle of the northern islands and a batten with offset handle. -- I prefer not to include the agreement between the tapa markers of Santa Cruz and the yam knives of the Torres Islands and the identity of the bean rattle with that of Mali, because these have been very recently imported by mission students and workmen. Moreover, they are probably native to the Torres and the New Hebrides groups. Cf. Edge-Partington, I, 142, Nos. 9-10, and III, 60, No. 3, as well as museum material.

4. Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 324.

5. Woodford, A Naturalist among the Headhunters, p. 235.

6. Verguet in Revue d'Ethnographie, IV, pp. 218 and 223. A wooden fish in the R.-J.-Museum, which definitely comes

x 171
x 174 [182 cont.]

from the southeastern Solomons, is also clearly reminiscent of Santa Cruz ornamentation.

Under these circumstances it may seem doubtful whether the fishing float from San Cristobal (7) has not also been borrowed from Santa Cruz. On the other hand, as far as the ear plug is concerned, this is improbable because of its wide distribution to the northwest, also in the form of the ear-loop. -- The arrows of Rennell Island have small bone points, inserted in a fashion similar to that on Santa Cruz (8).

x 174
x 171 [183] A connection of the Santa Cruz group that extends considerably farther is of great interest but should be considered with caution. In the central district of British New Guinea we find comparatively recent "Melanesian" languages, which for this reason approach those of the southeastern Solomons (1). The ornamentation of the region is also peculiar, and one could perhaps even discover Micronesian characteristics in it (2). The fishing float, which

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7. Codrington, p. 317.

8. Berlin VI 16267.

1. Cf. W. Schmidt, Über das Verhältnis der melanesischen Sprachen zu den polynesischen, [Concerning the Relationship of the Melanesian Languages to the Polynesian:, pp. 58ff.

2. Haddon, Decorative Art of British New Guinea, Pl. IX ff. Cf. especially the tattooing on p. 189.

x 174 [183 cont.]

x171 probably does not occur elsewhere in New Guinea, should be mentioned among the ethnographic items (3). But the most striking thing is that it is precisely in the central district that we again find the very strikingly shaped crab-pincer sail of the Santa Cruz boat (4). Coincidence seems out of the question. And although a survey of the material does not yet permit a definite conclusion, there is a possibility that here in the southeast of New Guinea there has been a backwash of cultural elements from the Santa Cruz region as far as the southern coast of the central island of Melanesia (5).

x 174 To summarize: A basic layer of comparatively pure totemistic cultural affiliation was first of all profoundly influenced by the proto-Polynesian culture. At the same time, however, it carried along not unimportant elements of the mask- and bow-culture, having passed through these areas in Melanesia. In more recent times very strong connections with Micronesia, especially with the Carolines, were established, which fall in the first period of the development of a specifically Micronesian culture. Considerably weaker influences, though long lasting and effective up to the present day, have reached the group from the actual Polynesian areas. On the other hand, Santa Cruz forms the

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3. R.-J.-Museum No. 14840, 15911.

4. For example, Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea, Pl. V-VII.

5. As I already found it to be not improbable in Stephan-Graebner, p. 192.

x 174 [183 cont.]
point of departure or lies on the route of a westward cultural movement, the final ramifications of which perhaps reached as far as the southern coast of New Guinea.

121 Here I must add that I do not flatter myself by believing I have exhausted my subject. I do not doubt that further research will discover still more, especially individual connections, as well as regard those that I have pointed out in a different light here and there. In particular I should like to emphasize here, too, that the individual movements of culture which stand out very prominently in certain periods [184] would not have ceased altogether in other eras. On the whole, I hope that we have once more achieved a firm culture-historical basis for a small region of the South Seas, for a small region of one particular part of the world. We need such minute work to put our science on a firm footing. And the method which has grown sturdy in the nursery of minute research will then find its path in the large movements of world history.